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WOMAN'S PLACE TO-DAY

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WOMAN'S PLACE TO-DAY.

B. F. Odell

FOUR LECTURES,

IN REPLY TO THE LENTEN LECTURES ON "WOMAN"

BY

THE REV. MORGAN DIX, D.D.,

Rector of Trinity Church, New York.

NEW BOOKS OLD
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BY

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE.

AUTHOR OF

"FETTERED FOR LIFE," "ROCKFORD," ETC.

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PREFACE.

A FEW words in explanation of the circumstances under which these lectures were delivered seem only proper. On the first Friday evening in Lent, March 9th, the Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, began a series of lectures on "Woman," which were delivered in Trinity Chapel, the fashionable up-town appendage of the wealthy ecclesiastical organization of which the reverend lecturer is the head. The first discourse attracted only moderate attention, and was poorly reported in the daily journals. The second lecture, however, better reported, aroused interest and was read with amazement by those who believe in the progress of society, so narrow were the views expressed of woman's position and capacities. My own surprise and indignation were very great. It seemed to me a wrong that such utterances, with the weight of the name of a much respected churchman, should be sent out to the world unanswered, and I resolved with such powers as I possessed to reply to them.

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For my purpose Sunday evening was evidently the most eligible time, coming at the close of a day of leisure to so many, and following closely after Friday evening. Inquiries proved that all the large halls, well situated for the purpose, were engaged for Sunday evening services during Lent, and arrangements were therefore made for me to speak in Frobisher's Hall, 23 East Fourteenth street, where, on Sunday evening, February 25, after Dr. Dix had delivered three lectures, I gave my first reply. The little hall was over-crowded on that and each of the three succeeding Sunday evenings, many persons being turned away unable to obtain even standing room; while Trinity Chapel, which had been only reasonably filled at the beginning of the reverend gentleman's discourses, was thronged to overflowing during the latter part of the course. It should be borne in mind that there was a small admission fee charged at the door of my hall to cover expenses, while the entrance to Trinity Chapel was, of course, free to all.

My own addresses can hardly with propriety be called lectures, as no part of them was read, they were delivered entirely free, and without any thought that they might be required for publication. Such wide-spread interest was, however, aroused by

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the discussion, I received during the progress of the course, and after its completion, so many kind letters from all parts of the country, making enquiries in regard to my lectures, that when Dr. Dix's appeared in book form, and propositions were made to me for my replies, I gladly consented to their publication.

The lectures have therefore been arranged from the printed reports and other memoranda in my possession. But, I beg my readers to bear in mind that the mode of presenting the arguments differs wholly from what it would have been had I seated myself at my desk with the sole purpose of writing a book in reply to Dr. Dix's lectures as they appear in print. I heard each of the last four discourses, and my answers were delivered after brief preparation, and with some heat, while yet filled with the indignation which some of the Doctor's utterances aroused. Argument and appeal, rather than concise and logical reasoning, therefore characterize my replies.

Such as they are, however, it seemed only fair to present them as they were delivered, and they have been prepared for the press substantially as they were given from the platform. Quotations from Dr. Dix's book have, however, been substituted for the less reliable newspaper reports used at the time

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of speaking. I ask my readers, then, to consider rather the importance of the cause I am pleading than the mode of its presentation.

L. D. B.

NEW YORK, April 10, 1883.

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I

WOMAN IN PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

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LESSON FOR THE FIRST LECTURE.

GENESIS.

CHAPTER I.

26 ¶ And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

27. So God created man in his *own* image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.

28 And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

CHAPTER II.

7. And the LORD God formed man *of* the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

18 ¶ And the LORD God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.

21. And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof;

22. And the rib, which the LORD God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.

23. And Adam said, This *is* now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.

24. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.

CHAPTER III.

Now the serpent was more subtile than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

2. And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:

3. But of the fruit of the tree which *is* in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

4. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not su ely die:

5. For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

6. And when the woman saw that the tree *was* good for food, and that it *was* pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make *one* wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.

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B. F. Odell

WOMAN'S PLACE TO-DAY.

I.

WOMAN IN PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Within the last few weeks a prominent clergyman has risen in our midst to tell us all about women—their history, their duties, and their place in the world. He is a man, and other men have applauded his conduct and endorsed his views. For three Friday evenings now this divine has had his say and no one has replied to him. But, considering the extraordinary nature of his utterances, it is certainly quite time that some woman should endeavor to present the views of women on subjects they may reasonably be supposed to understand.

Now, we have no fault to find with this reverend gentleman individually. He is a man of great learning, of wide culture, and of much excellence of character, a man whose broad benevolence has made

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him a benefactor to many, and he is no doubt perfectly honest in his views, as well as earnest in their presentation. But when this gentleman uses the position in which he stands, strongly intrenched with all the wealth of the wealthiest church in the country to sustain him, with his social standing, his congregation, his clerical brethren all giving him strength,—when he uses these great advantages to try to arrest the struggles of womanhood for freedom, to bind still tighter the chains she has half cast off, to stifle all her aspirations for a better life, then surely the time has come for some woman, speaking for her sex as well as her powers will permit, to reply to this clerical dictator.

For this divine, shunning the broad light of the nineteenth century, retires within the cloistered walls of Trinity Chapel, and from thence, refusing to see the sun at noonday, cries out, Let us live here with the past; this gentle twilight is better than the rude glare of day. Here, ladies, your silks and satins will be sheltered from all storms; let us then stop and dream in this cosy warmth and gentle shade.

Apparently the reverend doctor knows no world outside of the soft cushions of his velvet-lined pews. "Peace, prayer, retirement!" this, he says, should

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content all women. "Maternity is the glory of womanhood, and in this is she redeemed."

If from the easy chair of his study he dimly discerns the forms of women madly struggling in the great river of life, striving vainly for bread, for honest living, he says to them, Peace, retirement, these are women's happiness. If he sees a wretched mother shuddering on the brink of the river, and clasping to her breast a miserable baby that is her shame and her disgrace, to her he says, "Maternity is your highest function!" If he hears penetrating even through his curtained windows the voices of women who cry and plead for better opportunities for their sex, he bids them be silent; meekness, forbearance, patience are the virtues which most adorn womanhood.

Ah, he is himself too late, this respectable relic of the middle ages! The chariot of progress is moving on. At its front sits awakened womanhood with the glory of hope in her starry eyes, and not even the Rector of Trinity Church is strong enough to block the wheels of that triumphant car!

Now let us analyze a little in detail what this reverend gentleman has said. He declares first that all that woman has to-day she owes to the Church. Let us look a little into this statement, and see if a

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man of his cultivation ought to make it in the face of the facts of history. It has been a favorite objection against woman's emancipation to say that it was a "reform against nature," that women have always been subordinate, and therefore always will be. There is some excuse for such an assertion from a man who has read nothing and knows nothing, but from the learned doctor it is absolutely astonishing.

We might expect the Rev. John Jasper, of Richmond, Va., who declared that the earth stood still and the sun went round it, to make some such ignorant assertions, but from the Rev. Morgan Dix they are amazing!

Women in this country to-day are only asking for the liberties they enjoyed in Egypt 4000 years ago. If we turn to that wonderful nation, whose stupendous monuments and gorgeous palaces still remain to tell what was the magnificence of their civilization, we shall find that woman occupied a position in the political, social, and business world that was equal to man's. In that wisest of all nations there were no cruel laws against women because of their sex. Their twin gods were Isis and Osiris, sister and brother, wife and husband, the woman's name always mentioned first. The queen

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also had equal power with the king, sometimes even greater, as Cleopatra was more influential than her husband Ptolemy, even after the Greek conquest.

The records on their monuments and the traditions of Egyptian history show men and women laboring together, dealing together in the market place, and sitting together at the council board. Property was transmitted in the female line, which was held to be the more surely legitimate. There was no thought in that land of denying to women the highest education. Wise women practised as physicians, pious women preached as priestesses, and learned women taught as the public instructors of both men and women, down to the time when the accomplished and beautiful Hypatia was torn to pieces by a Christian mob.

The position of women in Rome, too, under the emperors was in many respects better than the position of women in our boasted republic to-day. In the early days of Rome in the times of the kings women were held in great degradation. Captured, like slaves, from the Sabines, they had no rights whatsoever, no rights even to their children; they could be divorced at the pleasure of the husband; they could not travel without permission of the

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state, and even their wardrobe was interfered with —a woman was by law allowed only three dresses.* Think of that in these times of Saratoga trunks!

But women were no more contented with this denial of equality then than they are now. Then as now they protested against the injustice; then as now they found earnest women to represent them, as when Hortensia, the daughter of Cicero's rival, pleaded in the forum the cause of her sisters with an eloquence that won her cause,† and these continued agitations brought about great changes in the condition of women, until under the empire women were in some respects better off than they are in America to-day. They could inherit property and transact business, and could even contract an honorable marriage, which left them complete liberty of action, and did away with all subordination even in that relation.

Maine (Gaius) says of the position of women under Roman law: "The jurisconsuls had evi-

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* Valerius Publicola, pleading against these cruel sumptuary laws, said:

"How can you wear a mantle of purple while you will not permit the mother of your family even a veil of that stuff? And the horse cloth on your steed is more costly than the dress of your wife."—Titus Livius, xxxiv., No. 7.

† Quintilian, ii.; Valerius Maximus, viii., iii. 3.

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dently at this time assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle of the code of equity. The situation of the Roman woman, whether married or single, became one of great personal and property independence."

The distinctions of *caste* were cruel indeed in that period when slavery prevailed and hopeless degradation was the lot of so many men and women, but arbitrary disabilities on account of sex had almost disappeared. Volumnia and Cornelia were revered and honored for their public counsels and services, and the superiority of the educated and noble women of that day is proved by the reflection that even to us a "Roman matron" seems a grander figure than an American wife.

Among the more barbarous nations of Europe which afterwards embraced Christianity women were also held in far greater reverence than prevailed at a later period. On marriage the German gave to his wife a horse, bridle, and spear, emblematic of her equality, and chastity was expected from men as well as from women. Mature women were sought for in council, and Tacitus said of these Germans, "In all grave matters they consult their women."

The ancient Britons also held women in high

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esteem, and Boadicea as queen led her armies to battle, while the priestesses were regarded with the greatest veneration.* All the fabled stories of the day show how morality was expected of men equally with women. The famous legends of the Round Table show that those knights still maintained the pagan virtues of their ancestors, admired Sir Galahad for his purity, and looked upon the sin of Sir Launcelot as equal to that of Queen Guinevere.

The Scandinavians held that women were inspired by reason of their sex, no married man ventured on any expedition for war or for the hunt without his wife's consent, and the marriage relation was held as of equal sanctity for both sexes. In all these nations women were revered as priestesses and prophetesses, from the Alruna or holy women among the Scandinavians to the priestesses of Vesta, and the Bona Dea in Rome, and the inspired Pythoness at Delphi.†

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* Keightley, History of England.

† How completely Dr. Dix fails to understand the real state of society at this period is evinced from this dismal picture of woman's condition given in his Lenten Sermons: "High and honorable thought about woman had ceased. She was despised and rejected of men; her thoughts, her ideas, her fame, her very life, were held in contempt. Man sat on high, her absolute and brutal lord and despot. The system of polygamy completed her degradation; under it she appeared merely in a

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We find, then, women not degraded and enslaved, but enjoying equal legal rights and great power among the Romans, and regarded everywhere as the equals if not the superiors of men among the Teutonic races. Such was their condition when Christianity was first preached.

And now let me say that I hope that no one will for one moment suppose that I have aught to say of disrespect of what is purest and best in Christianity. Dogmatic theology founded on masculine interpretation of the Bible is one thing; what is true and lovely in Christianity is another and far different. The Christian virtues of love, charity, forbearance, these have done much to redeem the world; but Christianity as embodied in a church or hampered in a creed has been perverted to many base purposes.

One is the chorus of angel voices chanting "peace on earth, good will towards men;" the other is the stern utterance of a masculine priesthood pretending that their own cruel laws are the commands of the infinite Creator. One is the beautiful green pastures

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carnal and physical light; women were but serfs, or animals, kept in herds, more or less large, according to the means of the proprietor, for his use and pleasure."—Lenten Sermons for 1883, page 40. Every student of history knows that polygamy was not practised by any of the nations that afterwards embraced Christianity.

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by still waters, where the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and the beggar and the prince shall walk side by side; the other is a frowning castle, within whose gloomy walls many prisoners lie in darkness and chains.

Let us then see what this man-made Church has done for women: In the early days of Christianity women and men labored together to teach the new religion. Women were preachers and deaconesses, St. Paul himself frequently speaking of their work in his epistles. Indeed, their public ministrations in the Church continued until A.D. 365, when the Council of Laodicea, in its eleventh canon, forbade the ordination of women to the ministry; and women still continued to be deaconesses until the Council of Orleans in the year 511 took from them even this privilege.

But as the years passed on, the priesthood grew in arrogance and the desire for power. The gentle teachings of the early Christians were forgotten, the usurpations of Rome increased, and the supremacy of the priesthood was established by the absorption of wealth, and, as knowledge is power, by grasping all learning.

Education was discouraged for men and denied to women, and thus this monstrous body, the Church

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of the middle ages, was built up to be a giant of enormous potency.

In those days books were almost wholly in the hands of priests. Charles Martel, Richard Cœur de Lion, and the greatest warriors of the day could neither read nor write. Ignorance was the universal rule, and women were, of course, uneducated and consequently degraded.

But the most grievous wrong of that day, the cause of the gradual degradation of woman, was to be found in the establishment of the celibacy of the clergy. This doctrine that a priest must not marry was the fruitful source of infinite woe to women—a doctrine which, by the way, this reverend gentleman himself preached and practised for a large portion of his life. No wonder he stands to-day as the apostle of woman's subordination, he who for so many years advocated that priestly isolation and denial of home life which for centuries wrought such misery to our sex.

This hideous doctrine of a celibate priesthood was maintained only by a constant struggle against the better and truer instincts of the heart. In order to sustain it women were declared to be by nature inferior, to be unfit to associate with men, to be unworthy and degrading in their influence

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over all who approached them. With this cruel set of maxims was the human heart preached down for a thousand years, and even to-day we suffer from those teachings which were rendered necessary to prevent men from entering the natural and happy relation of marriage.

In order to excuse this theory of woman's inferiority on account of her sex, which was utterly in conflict with pagan views, there was set up the absurd dogma that all women must be punished because of "Eve's sin;" a dogma borrowed from the ancient Jewish writings, and which is reiterated even by Dr. Dix to-day. How absurd this theory is, how utterly without foundation on any intelligent interpretation of the story of Eden, a brief analysis of that story will show you.

The right of individual interpretation of Scripture, I suppose, even women may claim since the Reformation, and, looked at by their eyes, the true meaning of this account is at once apparent.

There is a fable of the olden times—when, according to the myths of many peoples, the lower animals were endowed with speech—which tells how a painter had portrayed a lion prostrate on the ground with a man standing in triumph over him, and having his foot on the beast's head. A lion chanc-

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ing to pass by just after the picture was complete, the painter called him in, and asked him what he thought of this delineation. The king of beasts looked at the picture with a sniff of disapproval, and then said shortly:

"Just wait till lions paint pictures!"

Hinting that in that case the position of the lion and the man would probably be reversed.

So when women interpret the Scriptures they find a very different meaning from that which men, including Dr. Dix, give to it. Let us then analyze this account of the Creation. We find in the first chapter of Genesis, twenty-seventh verse, that "male and female," both were created in "the image of God," and in the following verse, that they were jointly given "dominion" over the earth, showing that they were created as absolute equals.

But in the more minute account which follows we find proof rather of man's inferiority than his superiority. He was made, we are told, out of "the dust of the earth," while woman was made from his rib, superior material, certainly, to the mere dust! The portion of his body from which she was taken also was significant of her true relation to him; as she was taken not from his head, to

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be above him, or from his feet, to be beneath him, but from his side, to be his equal.

The creation of Adam himself was evidently a mistake, by himself he was but a wretched creature. As Dr. Dix has it, "Alone he is good for nothing, incomplete, imperfect, useless." * So that with woman came harmony and happiness. Adam himself was indeed ready enough to acknowledge her superiority, as he said at once, when he saw his bride:

"Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife."

He uttered no nonsense about his headship, said nothing about her cleaving to him, but at once perceived the supreme position of the wife, and his conduct at the time of the temptation indicated plainly that he looked upon her as his leader. The whole of that story indeed shows man in such a pitiable light, so entirely contemptible was his conduct in endeavoring to shield himself at the woman's expense, that one would think men would not like to have the matter alluded to. And indeed it is so evidently the part of kindness not to speak of the story of Adam that I should be reluctant to talk of

* Lenten Sermons for 1883, p. 24.

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it now, had not Dr. Dix forced it upon our attention.

We find then, pursuing the story, that Eve was tempted by "a serpent," according to the best commentators, an angel * in disguise, a superior being, not a mere mortal like herself; and when first this angel urged her to eat of the forbidden fruit she remonstrated with him, and protested that such action would be in direct opposition to the expressed commands of God. It was then that the angel finally persuaded her, by no ignoble inducement, but by the promise of knowledge; and the woman seeing that this "seraphim," † a creature of superior attainments, assured her that no harm would come of her transgression and that the fruit was "to be desired to make one wise," took of the fruit and ate it.

This is the account of the fall of woman. Now what did Adam do, as the "head of his wife?" Did he remonstrate with her? Did he as her "guide" denounce her conduct or even argue with her con-

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* "Some learned men indeed have conjectured that this serpent appeared so beautiful and resplendent that Eve supposed it to be an angel, and listened to it as a heavenly messenger." Scott's Commentaries, vol. i., note to Chap. III., p. 14.

† Scott's Commentaries, vol. i., note to Chap. III., p. 14.

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cerning the dire consequences of her act? Oh, no! not a word did he say, not a reminder of the terrible warnings they had received as to the consequences of disobedience, not an argument in regard to possible advantage did he require. The simple statement is made that she "gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat."

It takes six verses to describe the fall of woman, while the fall of man is contemptuously dismissed in a line and a half!

And what makes Adam's part in this great drama the more subordinate is the fact that he was undoubtedly present during the whole scene, as the words "her husband with her," in verse six, plainly indicate. He, however, evidently regarding his wife as the superior, expected her to take the leading part in the transaction, and meekly followed her lead. This, indeed, makes his subsequent conduct in striving to excuse himself by blaming her a shade more pardonable. But I think you will admit that, considering the story of the "fall of man" as related in the Bible, and reading it by the light of common sense, it seems evident that there cannot reasonably be founded upon it any argument for the inferiority of woman. And yet this absurd and monstrous dogma of woman's degradation was maintained by

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the Church through all the midde ages, and finds its representative even to-day in men like the Rector of Trinity.

How far-reaching has been the wrong this theory has inflicted upon women it is difficult for us to understand; but it is at the root and foundation of every idea of woman's inferiority which afflicts us to-day. Every denial of education, every refusal of advantages to women, may be traced to this dogma, which first began to spread its baleful influence with the rise of the power of the priesthood and the corruption of the early Church.

St. Augustine, whose early life was most dissolute, was one of the first who * taught this doctrine of Original Sin, and thenceforth this doctrine was reiterated and elaborated by the "fathers of the Church" as a powerful means of maintaining the celibacy of the clergy, the repetition of this idea tending constantly to the degradation of the sex.

St. Chrysostom, whose prayer Dr. Dix reads at every morning service, maintained this doctrine, and described woman as "a necessary evil, a nat-

* "All, or at least great part of the fathers of the Greek Church before Augustine denied any real original sin." Augustinism and Pelagianism, p. 43, Emerson's translations.

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ural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic peril, a deadly fascination, and a painted ill."

All association with this weak and degraded half of humanity was discouraged among men; marriage was looked upon as a species of humiliation, and the Emperor Honorius banished the learned Jovinius because he asserted the possibility that a man might be saved who lived with his wife! These were the teachings of that Church to which Dr. Dix declares that women owe everything!

It was but an easy step, after marriage was declared degrading for men, to reduce women to utter subservience, to declare that all women should respect and obey all men: first the priest, then the husband, the father, the son, or indeed any man; and thus was built up that idea of man's superiority which has so firm a hold on society to-day.

Of course such views lead to utter immorality, and the so-called celibate priesthood were really most vicious in their lives.* Where women were

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*The abbot elect of St. Augustine, Canterbury, in 1171, was found to have seventeen illegitimate children in a single village. An abbot of St. Pelayo in Spain, in 1130, was proved to have kept no less than seventy mistresses. Henry, third Bishop of Liege, was deposed in 1274 for having sixty-five illegitimate children.—Lecky's History of European Morals, p. 350.

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taught their inferiority they easily fell into slavery to all men,* and in every community was established that class which is to-day the disgrace of our sex and of humanity.

At the end of fifteen hundred years of nominal Christianity this was woman's position. The old respect was gone. She had lost her property rights, her education, her political power. All women were in subjection to all men: they were denied the priesthood and the command of armies, in marriage they were held subordinate, and the chastity so esteemed by the pagan northern nations had given place to indiscriminate immorality.

With Protestantism, however, came the dawn of a new era, the first ray of light of the coming noonday. The right of freedom of thought, the right of private judgment, the right to criticise the Church and the priesthood, these new ideas were

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It was openly attested that 100,000 women were made dissolute by the clergy in England.—Draper's Intellectual Development of Europe, p. 498.

* "Under such religious teachings as to woman naught could be expected but that the laity would closely imitate the priesthood. Although Church and state may not be legally united, it is impossible for any religious opinion to become widely prevalent without influencing legislation."—Woman, Church, and State, by Matilda Joslyn Gage, to whose able work I am indebted for many of these facts.

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the harbingers of human liberty. And when Martin Luther took a nun in honorable marriage he struck the first blow for woman's final emancipation from the monastic thraldom of the mediæval period.

From that day to this the struggle has gone on, the champions of liberty claiming personal freedom which has been gradually extended to the laborer, to the slave, and last of all to woman, who is still held in bondage by the teachings of the past and the arbitrary dictates of a masculine priesthood which even to-day re-echoes the spirit of the dark ages. Within a year or two the Rev. Knox Little, a clergyman of the English Church, delivered a sermon to a large audience of ladies in Philadelphia, in which he said:

"Loving submission is one attribute of woman; men are logical, but women, lacking this quality, have an intricacy of thought. There are those who think women can be taught logic. This is a mistake.* They can never by any power of education arrive at the same mental status as that enjoyed by men; but they have a quickness of apprehension, which is usually called leaping at conclusions, that is

* He came from the land of "George Eliot," of Harriet Martineau, and of Frances Power Cobbe!

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truly astonishing. Here then we have the distinctive traits of a woman, namely, endurance, loving submission, and quickness of apprehension. Wifehood is the crowning glory of a woman. In it she is bound for all time; to her husband she owes the duty of unqualified obedience. There is no crime which a man can commit which justifies his wife in leaving him, or applying for that monstrous thing, divorce. It is her duty to subject herself to him always, and no crime that he can commit can justify her lack of obedience. If he be a bad or wicked man she may gently remonstrate with him, but refuse him never!"

These are the doctrines preached even to-day by the representatives of that Church to which this reverend doctor says that women owe their liberty, and thinks they will believe him!

Side by side with the doctrine of inferiority and submission taught to women went naturally the denial to them of all education; and when we reflect how persistently women were forbidden all instruction, it is no wonder that for centuries they have seemed utterly and abjectly inferior to men. In 1570 a learned lady was hooted through the streets of Paris for daring to propose a school for girls. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu apologized for trans-

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lating Epictetus, as the study of Latin was unfit for a woman, and advised that her granddaughter should be educated, but that the fact should be concealed that it should not interfere with her marriage! Somewhat of this spirit has indeed survived almost to this day, and some of us will remember being told in solemn warning that "men do not like a learned woman."

The good Abbé Fénélon, with all his kind-heartedness, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the priesthood, feared that "contact with learning would be almost as fatal to a woman as vice."

No wonder that, finding the women of his day such utter dunces, Voltaire bitterly declared that "Ideas are like beards, women and young men have none."

Of course, as representing the Church which for centuries denied to women any education whatsoever, the Rector of Trinity is naturally foremost in trying to prevent the higher education of women. And it is well understood that Dr. Dix alone to-day prevents the opening of Columbia College to women.

If I may be pardoned a personal allusion I will briefly narrate the story of my own application to this university in 1873, on behalf of several young ladies who were anxious to avail themselves of the

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benefits of the institution. These applicants were all girls of unusual promise. One of them was a valedictorian of the Normal College here, one was a graduate of Michigan University, and they were all qualified and earnest students. As two of my ancestors had been presidents of the college I felt an especial claim on it, and on turning to the charter of the university I found that this claim on behalf of young women was apparently well founded.

The charter, which was granted by King George II. in 1754, declares that the college was founded for the "Education and Instruction of Youth in the Liberal Arts and Sciences." Now "youth" is, according to the dictionary, "young persons of both sexes," so that it would seem that the original purpose of the university was to educate both young men and maidens; and this purpose appears the more proper when we find that the college was endowed by "the rector and inhabitants of the city of New York," one half of these inhabitants of course being women, who might naturally wish to have their daughters benefited by the wealth they bestowed.

With this most reasonable foundation for the claim on behalf of my young friends I made formal application to the Faculty, and at once found that the applicants had a friend in the president of the

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college, Mr. Barnard, then as now an earnest advocate of co-education. But the request of the young ladies to be admitted to examination was referred to a committee of which Dr. Morgan Dix was the chairman, and was peremptorily refused.

The position which he held ten years ago this reverend stumbling-block holds to-day. A decade with all its stirring life, with all its living facts, has not advanced him one tittle or opened his eyes to the needs of the day. He says:

"Therefore, on theory first and on the principles enunciated already and not needing repetition, we protest against the system of co-education as mischievous, . . . as a practical question we hold it to be radically wrong." *

And following this strong declaration of hostility he reiterates, as arguments against opening our universities to young women, certain dread forebodings of ill which the practical workings of the system he denounces have for years proved to be fallacious. We have only to turn to the testimony of the presidents and professors of colleges where co-education has been in use for years to prove the entire success of the experiment.

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* Lenten Sermons for 1883, pp. 71, 72.

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President White, of Cornell University, says: "The presence of women students has not tended to lower the standard of scholarship. Both manners and morals are improved. The language that so often disgraces places where young men are congregated together becomes impossible when lady students are present. On the whole, the effect upon the health of women has been favorable. The thoroughly educated woman obtains knowledge which enables her to preserve her health. Her education renders her less likely to ruin her health by a merely aimless, frivolous life. Our experience is that a considerable number of thoughtful women, especially those intending to devote themselves to the work of instruction, take with advantage the same studies which are given to young men. They seem to require the same food for the mind, just as they require the same food for the body. There is no rule as to the studies which lady students prefer. The student of this institution who took the Greek prize at the first inter-collegiate competition was a young woman."

Professor J. Le Conte, M.D., late president of the University of California, says: "The presence of women has improved the manners and morals of both sexes. The young men and women are not

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necessarily thrown together except in the class-room; here each sex is a restraint upon the other, and the association has a good effect in manners and decorum. There is comparatively little mingling of the sexes during recreation hours. We have a gymnasium; but separate hours are set apart for the young women. The two sexes meet on the grounds, in the library, and of course in the class-room. Many of the young women never become intimately acquainted with their male classmates. There does not seem to be any very strong proclivity to love affairs. The imagination is not stimulated by class exercises. My experience and observation embrace the whole life of the university, from its organization in September, 1869."

The University of Michigan was only opened to women after a struggle very similar to that going on with Columbia here to-day; but, after some fifteen years of trial, the president, Jas. B. Angell, says: "The presence of women in the college halls has doubtless been conducive to quiet and order in the buildings, because the men in the presence of women exercise the courtesies shown in this country by all well-bred men to the other sex. I was at first very solicitous as to the effect of college life on the health of young women. Now and then a woman

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has been admitted who was not in the proper physical condition to go on with college work. But our experience has brought us to the conclusion that a woman who is in good health on beginning her course, and who exercises a fair degree of prudence, can perform her allotted task without harm. Indeed, the regularity and pleasant excitement of the life proves conducive to health, and most women are more vigorous at their graduation than on their admission. The demands made on the strength of young women by college work are certainly not so great as those made by 'society' on many a woman. I believe that it would be hard to find an equal number of young women in better health than the female students of the university. We have been surprised to find that the women have not shown more than men a gift for any special branch of study. Some have excelled in every branch, in the most abstract and difficult studies as well as in those which tax the mind less. They have shown the same diversity as the men."

President John W. Beach, of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., says: "It is eight years since young ladies were first admitted to equal privileges with young men in this college. At present we have in the college one hundred and eighty-four

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of female students has in no case depressed the standard of scholarship in any department of the university. Much of the time since the opening of the College of Liberal Arts, for the sake of restricting the size of our classes, the standard of requirements for admission has been higher than in any other American college. Meanwhile no young woman candidate has ever failed to pass the entrance examination, and no female student has ever had to take a second-class 'examination' by reason of failure in the first. As to the refining, elevating effect of the collegiate association of the sexes, it would be difficult for me to express my full convictions without apparent extravagance. If ever college manners and morals are reformed it will be by abolishing the unnatural sex-isolation out of which an unnatural academic life has grown. As to health I cannot recall a single instance in the nine years in which a young woman has been broken down or even set back in her course in consequence of over-exertion in the effort to master the curriculum."

This is strong testimony which directly contradicts the direful prognostications of the worthy Rector of Trinity, who declares that "nature herself forbids co-education," and, in spite of those facts as to the absence of all demoralizing results from the

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association of the sexes in study, insults all young women who are desirous of obtaining a college education by predicting that, "the entrance of Athene into our collegiate halls will be inevitably followed by the advent of Aphrodite." Ah, what this clerical alarmist really fears is not Aphrodite, but a divinity who has no place in the Greek Pantheon, the Goddess of Liberty the latest-born of all the goddesses, and the only one that is immortal!

But here is more testimony to the complete success of co-education, even in conservative England.

At a meeting held last spring to advocate the admission of women to Columbia College, letters were read from four eminent English teachers—Professor Henry Jackson, Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor J. P. Postgate, of Cambridge and London Universities; Professor James Bryce, M.P., and J. G. Fitch, Government Inspector of Schools for England and Wales, and Member of the Senate of the London University. Extracts from these letters are given herewith.

Professor Jackson says in his letter:

"Having taken classes of ladies through the Ethics and a part of the Metaphysics of Aristotle, and the 'Republic,' the 'Phædo,' and the 'Philetus' of Plato, I can speak in the very highest terms of

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their industry and capacity. I put their attention to a severe test, as I sometimes lectured for an hour and a half, and even for an hour and three quarters, without interruption. As a proof of their capacity, I may mention that at the end of the academic year 1877–78, I examined some of my lady pupils in the Aristotle papers which I was giving to the Trinity men who graduated in 1879, and the Plato papers, which I was giving to the Trinity men who graduated in 1880, and that one of the ladies was third in Aristotle and first in Plato."

Professor Postgate says:

"The performances of women in examinations at Cambridge and elsewhere I look upon as wholly encouraging. The standard by which I should test them is an absolute one; and, judged by that, they show work which is intrinsically good and worth doing. At present there are close upon 150 women studying in Cambridge, of whom the majority are reading for honors examinations; so popular has the movement become in the country that when the Grace for admitting them to examinations was brought forward, it was carried in the largest division ever known by a majority of about ten to one. Both at Cambridge and at University College the women not unfrequently beat the men in

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the lists. Last year two thirds of those examined in comparative philology were women; and a woman was easily first in the paper, beating another very good candidate, a man who has since taken a scholarship, I believe, at Oxford."

Professor Bryce says:

"I am greatly interested to hear of the proposal made that some of the lectures at Columbia College should be thrown open to women students, and earnestly hope it may receive the approval of the college authorities. We in England are more and more disposed to look to the opening of university classes to women as the best, the simplest, and the most effective means of providing higher education for women, and in raising up, in particular, a class of highly cultivated women teachers. I believe that the general feeling of those who, in England, have thought most on these matters and had the best opportunities of observing is clearly in favor of such a plan as is suggested for Columbia College."

Inspector Fitch, in his letter, gives some particulars in regard to the results of admitting women to colleges with men. He says:

"The older universities of Oxford and Cambridge took a very important step some sixteen years ago in the same direction when they determined to ad-

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mit girls to the local examinations on the same conditions as boys. Little by little the schools of the country learned to avail themselves of this privilege, and this year about 4000 girls have been examined at various local centres by the authorities of the universities. This movement, however, affected only students of school age. The foundation of Girton and Newnham was a later step, and, as you well know, was designed to place a really academic education of the highest kind within the reach of women. For many years the university, acting with the traditional and not unbecoming caution that befits an ancient corporation, gave a sort of experimental and informal sanction to the plan, by simply permitting its examiners to report on the papers sent in by the students of these colleges. It is only within two years that the university has consented to give, on her own authority, to women, certificates exactly equivalent to degrees, and obtained after the same examinations as those given to men. All the other universities of the United Kingdom—Edinburgh, Dublin, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Durham, and St. Andrews—have followed the lead of the older universities in opening to girls as well as boys the full advantages of their local examinations.

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"The University of London stands on a different footing from all of them. It is little more than an examining Board, though one of great authority and influence. A large number of its candidates come from no college at all, and have been prepared privately. Moreover, it is only fifty years old, and is not encumbered with ancient traditions which fetter its action. Hence it has been able to take a more decided step than any other university in the direction of improvement in women's education. At first the experiment was made of maintaining a special examination for women, with a curriculum framed in supposed deference to special feminine needs. But, though many women availed themselves of this examination, it soon became evident that the successes they won were all achieved in the old lines, in classics, science, mathematics, literature —in fact, the subjects which belong to an ordinary course of liberal education, and not in any of the special studies which were presumed to be appropriate for them as women. Moreover, it was manifest that a special feminine examination was not what women wanted, for the public believed that it was inferior or specially lenient; whereas genuine students desired to have their knowledge and intellectual cultivation tested by the ordinary and

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recognized standards, and asked for no special tenderness or favor. Accordingly, after much discussion, it was determined in 1877 to obtain from the crown a new charter, admitting women on exactly the same footing as men to all the degrees in all the faculties (arts, laws, medicine, science, music), and permitting them to receive the same honors and degrees.

"The experiment, as you see from the enclosed figures, has been decidedly successful. An increasing number of women has each year come up for matriculation and graduation, and some of the successes they have attained have been remarkable. The gold medal in anatomy—one of the chief and most coveted prizes in the medical profession—was won last year by a woman. Another lady came out first in mental and moral philosophy, and the proportion of women who pass well in the examinations is much greater than that of the men. On the whole, I am more and more convinced that these movements have been entirely right and beneficent, and that their influence in raising the quality of education throughout the country has been enormous. What has been done is to encourage in girls' schools and in colleges for women a more brainy and disciplined course of study; to give

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to female students new motives for intellectual exertion, a higher idea of work and more opportunities for self-knowledge, and, in particular, to create a large class of highly qualified lady teachers, who have given to the world the same guarantee of their possession of a liberal education that is usually afforded by holding a university degree. It is not only the few who have publicly distinguished themselves—the teachers, the students of medicine, and others who have made a professional use of their academic success—to whom the recent action of the universities, especially of Cambridge and of London, has proved a boon. Hundreds of women, now at the head of their own households, have carried into domestic life sounder knowledge, higher tastes and aspirations, stronger interest in truth, and greater power of influencing for good the lives and characters of those whom they love.

"It is, after all, by raising the general level of intelligence and of social and family life that these movements of the universities will be most completely vindicated, and not by those occasional successes in professions or in public life, which must be rather exceptional phenomena, so far as women are concerned." *

* New York *Tribune*, April 30, 1882.

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In these last sentences are contained testimony of the most valuable sort to the inestimable benefit that the education of women must bring, not only to themselves, but to their families. Every mother whose own early instruction has been neglected must have felt a pang when the boy, who had come to her for counsel in his studies, at last reached a point where she was obliged to say, "I do not know; I cannot help you." She has seen the eager young face with a look of surprise on it, as he learned for the first time that there were limitations to the powers of this being whom he had looked on almost as a divinity. She has felt sadly that from that moment she had fallen irrevocably in her son's reverence, and has dated from that period, perhaps, the growth in the boy's heart of a feeling perchance akin to contempt for her as "only a woman," who could not be expected to know very much.

Contrast the position of this half-educated mother with that of one who has had all the advantages of a university-course of study. How great must be her capabilities of aiding her children, how happy must she be that she can go hand in hand with her sons and daughters as they progress in their studies to the higher branches. How truly well-born should be the children of such a woman!

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Why, for their own sakes one would suppose that all men would earnestly advocate the complete emancipation of women, for only as they are educated, instructed, and given equality of advantages can they be fitting companions for intelligent men. For what does a young man paint as the fair ideal of his dreams? A mere pretty doll? A silly goose who has no ideas beyond dress? Not that I have any objection to the "gospel of good gowns;" on the contrary I quite believe in it, but dress should not be the paramount object even of a young woman's life. And when a man in fancy sees the bride he hopes for, he thinks not of a frivolous weakling but of a woman beautiful indeed, but also strong, a woman on whom he can rely, whom he feels when he leaves home will be equal to any emergency that may arise, a woman who shall be his wife, his friend, and his companion.

Only thus worthily wedded will he have children of whom he can be proud. It is a well-admitted fact that all great men have owed much of their greatness to their mothers. There was that wonderful man who rose from humble life to be president of these United States, and fell in his prime; how much of his success he owed to that mother whose courage and energy proved her own great abilities

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which she transmitted to her son. And of the statesman whom France has just lost we are told that his powers he inherited from his mother. The father of Gambetta kept a small grocery store, and would fain have had his son spend his life in selling butter and cheese: it was his mother who, herself a woman of unusual capacity, discerned her son's rare endowments, and made every sacrifice to give him an education and a career.

Such stories might be multiplied indefinitely, you have all heard them. If, then, men would wish to see their children indeed well-born let them see that women are given all opportunities of education and emancipation. Only as we have grand and noble women can we have grand and noble children.

Dr. Dix is fond of quoting Ruskin, but he does not go far enough; we would commend to him other words by the great critic, who, denouncing the present condition of women and its ill effect on men themselves, exclaims, "As if a man could be mated adequately with a shadow or worthily with a slave!"

The curiously unreal way in which the rector of Trinity from his velvet easy chair looks at the questions of the day is illustrated by some of his remarks on this question of co-education. "There

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are domestic reasons," he says, "for not exposing girls to the gaze and scrutiny of young men, a large part of whom are bent much more on amusement than on hard study." *

One would suppose that at present girls lived on an island where young men were unknown, that they now never saw them, and would, in case they went to college with them, for the first time discover the existence of these dangerous beings.

He says again: "There are social reasons for not throwing young men and women together at an age when the passions are strong, and the interest in each other is inevitable." †

Simple-minded rector of Trinity! He never heard of balls and parties, we must presume, of gay scenes where young men and women spend the hours of the night in dancing together in a contact far closer than would be tolerated in college halls, the girls wearing a scanty costume that would never

* Lenten Lectures, 1883, p. 73.

† The curious one-sidedness of Dr. Dix's vision is evinced by a foot-note at the bottom of this page (72) of his Lenten Lectures, in which he gives an extract from a letter from a young student at a seminary, who speaks of meeting the girls at a party every Friday evening, and indulging in "kissing games." Evidently this seems to the good rector a peculiarity of co-education, and he is not aware of the fact that such games are much practised where "mixed schools" are unknown.

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be permitted in a class-room. Not a word against such a "throwing together of young men and women." No "social reasons" against the "German," but plenty of argument against the study of Greek!

Dr. Dix further expresses great horror at the demands of those who would give young women all advantages of study.

"It is claimed," he says, "that young women ought to know all that young men know, that they should not be afraid to look at anything a man may look at," "to go with men wherever men go, to read whatever men read." *

If women had control of the morals of the world this would be only reasonable; there should be no books that may not be properly read by both men and women, there should be no public places to which men and women may not properly go together, no pictures or statuary that may not be looked at with propriety by brother and sister. Giving to women an equal voice in the control of all laws, written or unwritten, will do far more to purify the world than subordinating them to that sex of which the Doctor himself says the members are notable for "their lethargy of spirit and indifference to religion."

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 68.

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Of course, with such complete misapprehension of the meaning and benefits of co-education, this reverend obstructionist continues to keep closed the doors of Columbia College. (By the way, how absurd is this feminine name for a university that refuses to admit women!)

In 1873 the excuse was made that the college buildings were too small, and that there was not room for any more students whether male or female; but since that time great additions have been built, and the towers and battlements of this wealthy college stretch out in imposing spaciousness. Behind those ramparts this respectable fossil stands intrenched. But even as the walls of Jericho tottered and fell at the sound of a trumpet, so at the loud blast of the trumpet of progress must these gates open and admit young men and maidens, brothers and sisters, the lovely "youth" of our land who, hand in hand, shall go in together to the citadel of knowledge.

Small wonder that this man, who has done so much already to retard woman's advancement, who represents the masculine supremacy which the priesthood has so long claimed, considers himself quite competent to tell women what they ought to do, and what is their place in the world. It would really be amusing if it were not provoking, this calm way in

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which men undertake to dictate to women what they shall or shall not do; while it never seems to cross their minds that women have any right to dictate to men what they shall or shall not do. They discuss women as if they were a peculiar species of creature, without sense and without feeling. These reverend doctors and other self-constituted critics look upon us, as it were, like so many vegetables, to be classified and arranged without the slightest regard to our wishes. Class A. orchids, very delicate, must be kept under glass and carefully protected. Class B., turnips, useful domestic article, belongs in the kitchen garden. Class C., weeds, to be trampled under foot.

So they go on with their clumsy generalizations, never seeing that the orchid may be a palm tree requiring space for its growth, that the so-called turnip is perhaps a dahlia, and that there is hope even for weeds!

In declaring from the pulpit how women shall be educated, and what shall be their liberties, this reverend gentleman only represents the thoughts and assumptions of thousands of his sex. "I am willing to allow women to vote," said a gentleman not long since. You will observe the lordly *ego*—"I" am willing to allow women to vote. How surprised he

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would have been had any woman said to him, "I am willing to allow men to vote."

All history is full of just such masculine assumption. The Chinaman of a certain rank insists that the feet of all women shall be cramped and tortured till they are crippled for life, in hideous token of the slavery of their ancestresses; the Sandwich Islanders would not allow their women to eat certain fruits; the men of France refuse women admission to any of their higher colleges.

And now comes Dr. Dix to define women's place and duties, and what does the worthy man consider should be their greatest pleasure? To adorn their minds with knowledge? To earn an honest livelihood? To make the path of life easier for others of their sex? Oh, no, none of these. They must go to church and listen to the singing of the Magnificat! * They must not even sing themselves, but listen to the singing of this chant, intoned by a chorus of male voices. This, he says, is the touchstone to true womanhood, and he finds in the words of the anthem "*Ecce Ancilla Domini*," the utterance of that "sweet submission" which is woman's highest attribute.

Ah, my friends, there is a grander hymn even

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 58.

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than the Magnificat, as there is "a word that is dearer than mother, home, or heaven, and that word is liberty." * A song that shall be sung by a grand and noble womanhood, not by a set of wretched, half-masculine creatures, such as Dr. Dix describes, miserable imitations of men striving vainly to contend with them, but educated and admirable women, who are doing women's work in caring for women, in laboring to make the world purer and better, who are devoted to their homes faithfully, and then to that larger home which is the world in which we live and in which we have every one of us a work to do; women who will not lead lives of mere idleness and retirement, finding their occupation in the embroidering of altar cloths, and their pleasure in "listening" to the Magnificat; but women who shall lead lives of usefulness, for children, for friends, and for the state, and who in the grand chorus with their brothers shall sing that hymn to which the heart of every American is attuned.

A hymn that is as wide as our own broad continent, and strong as the surges of the Atlantic; that sounds in the wild wind that sweeps through the pine forests of the North, and sings in the soft breezes of

* Matilda Joslyn Gage.

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Southern savannas; that swells with the rush of mountain torrents, and sings with exultant joy through the high arches of our sun-lighted sky; that is sweet as the ripple of waves, and grand as the roar of Niagara,—the hymn of liberty.

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LECTURE II.

HOME.

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LESSON FOR SECOND LECTURE.

PROVERBS.

CHAPTER XXXI.

10. ¶ Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price *is* far above rubies.
11. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil.
12. She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life.
13. She seeketh wool, and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands.
14. She is like the merchants' ships; she bringeth her food from afar.
15. She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens.
16. She considereth a field, and buyeth it: with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.
17. She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms.
18. She perceiveth that her merchandise *is* good: her candle goeth not out by night.
19. She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff.
20. She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.
21. She is not afraid of the snow for her household: for all her household *are* clothed with scarlet.
22. She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing *is* silk and purple.
23. Her husband is known in the gates, when he sitteth among the elders of the land.
24. She maketh fine linen, and selleth *it*; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant.
25. Strength and honour *are* her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come.
26. She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue *is* the law of kindness.
27. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.
28. Her children arise up, and call her blessed; her husband *also*, and he praiseth her.
29. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.
30. Favour *is* deceitful, and beauty *is* vain: *but* a woman *that* feareth the LORD, she shall be praised.
31. Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates.

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II.

HOME.

The reverend gentleman whose last discourse we propose to discuss to-night began his lecture on Friday evening by addressing his audience, two thirds of whom were women, as "dear brethren." Evidently his observations were intended to please men alone, and doubtless many of them enjoyed his denunciations of "the sins and follies" of our sex which followed. However, I am less surprised at the learned doctor's difficulty in understanding the facts of to-day, now that I have listened to some of his discourses and find how completely he lives in and with the past. Seated in Trinity Chapel one may easily imagine one's self in some mediæval cathedral, listening to the choir of boys' voices and the service intoned by priests who utter the words so that it is difficult to tell whether they are Latin or English.

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Influenced by these surroundings, leading an almost cloistered life, this man has no more sympathy with the rhythm and pulse of the great heart-beat of to-day than a stained-glass window. He is a theological Rip Van Winkle, who has slept, not twenty but two hundred years, and who looks across the wide fields of modern progress with eyes dazzled by the light of the nineteenth century. Are the stage-coaches all gone? he cries. Have women left off using the spinning-wheel and taken to the study of Latin? And he endeavors to roll back the tide of life with a sermon case and time the march of modern thought to the toll of convent bells.

To show how little he comprehends the sentiment of the day, while speaking in his last lecture of the evils of nihilism, he said, these people "have no respect for property or human life," * putting property first, with the truly monarchical view that property is more valuable than the lives of the people. And again, he dwelt on the evils which come of educating the children of "the humbler classes" "to a social rank above their own." † Who are these children of the "humbler classes"? "The mill-boy of the Slashes," who was afterwards America's

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 113.
† Ibid., p. 99.

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greatest orator? "The rail-splitter," who brought his clear brain and kind heart to the service of his country, and died a martyr to her cause? The canal boy, who grew to be the equal in culture of the most daintily-reared scholar in the land, and fell in his prime to be mourned by the world? Why, the glory of America is the children of the humbler classes who are educated above their rank!

However, in spite of Dr. Dix's old-world views, he has made some discoveries! He has found out that the position of woman has changed, that she stands not where she once did, but has advanced from the seclusion of the past. This fact, however, he regards wholly with dismay, as he expressed the greatest horror at the thought that women should come before the public in any way. Some of them, he said, actually had their names printed in the newspapers—their full names—like men!

Which recalls a saying that was once held to be quite indisputable, that a woman's name should never appear in the newspapers but twice, once when she was married and once when she died. How pleasant it has been for men to monopolize all the attention of the public in the past! No wonder they do not like the idea of sharing their honors—of, possibly, being outrivalled.

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"I abhor and detest the modern development," * the good doctor says frankly, and we can well fancy that he disapproves violently of any system which will permit his declarations on any point to be controverted, or that any independence should arise in that sex which has so long humbly accepted priestly dictation.

The eloquent divine devoted a considerable portion of his last lecture to a graphic picture of the career of a fashionable girl, who leaves school at eighteen, and achieves what is called "success" in society. He is very much shocked at her frivolity, her love of admiration, her fondness for gayety. Why then does he not offer to the girls something better in the way of employment than the round of idle amusements which are now the only occupations offered to young ladies of a certain social position? He denies to our young women all higher education, closes to them all active careers, and then blames a gifted girl for wishing to achieve success in the only arena open to her.

"Note," he says, "the ambition to appear clever and brilliant, the desire to say bright things and hear them said," * and he blames the poor girl for

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 95.

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being able to "banter, jest, and make repartee." * What better use does he suggest for her powers than the training them for effective display in society?

A young woman who has had all the advantages, even of a fashionable education, must feel that what is offered her by society as occupation for her after school days are over, is miserably frivolous and unsatisfactory, and the strictures of Dr. Dix remind me of the reply of a certain well-meaning father to his daughter when she asked his advice. She had returned to her home after graduating at a very good college for young women, and finding, after a little, that the absence of daily tasks seemed to make life very unprofitable, and that she was drifting into habits of idleness and without an aim in life, she appealed to her father, suggesting that he should point out to her some useful occupation for her trained intellect and restless energy. The good gentleman was sadly puzzled at first, but brightened up as he told her that he sadly needed a new pair of slippers, and she might embroider them for him!

It is true that Dr. Dix highly approves of marriage for women, and dwells so much on the importance of their training as wives and mothers

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, pp. 103, 105.

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that he evidently thinks young ladies have nothing to do after leaving school but walk into some convenient church and be married to some good husband, who is regularly provided for every woman as soon as she reaches a suitable age.

"It will be said," he admits, "that many women have no homes. That is true; yet they are exceptions, and their unhappy case makes not against the general line of our argument." *

This is, certainly, a very airy way of dismissing the facts in the case, which are, that in this country to-day in all our Eastern States women are in the majority—73,000 more women than men in New York, 66,000 more women than men in Massachusetts, and so on in the older States; and, coupled with this, the other highly significant fact, that, for various reasons, principally owing to their own vice, and not to women's extravagance, as is sometimes claimed, many men do not marry; so that there are in New York to-day 400,000 women over twenty-one and unmarried, either maidens, widows, or divorced wives, which is about one third of the adult female population. When you add to these the many women who are obliged to support not only

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 83.

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themselves but their husbands, you have so large a number of women who cannot expect to find homes or a support in marriage that only one who stood in an "early English attitude" would think of considering woman's position to-day without having something to say in regard to this constantly-increasing army of unmarried and unsupported women.

But this is one of the peculiarities of the good doctor's attempt to grapple with the "woman question"—that he sees nothing beyond Fifth Avenue and Murray Hill. He knows no life but that of fashion, and has no eyes for the great army of working girls who surge through our streets every morning going to their labors and back again at night.

"Man's is the outer life, woman's the inner,"* he declares. "It cannot be her duty to go down and strive in the streets;" but, ah! it is not only the duty but the necessity of many women in every community to earn their living, by leaving their homes, and striving to make for themselves a place in the world; and at what fearful disadvantages are these women placed by the teachings of just such men as Dr. Dix! Women are laboring in our schools at one half or one third as much pay as men

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 81.

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who do no better work, toiling in our shops for a wretched pittance,* and running sewing machines at starvation wages! The picture is a terrible one in some of its aspects.

There are 50,000 women toiling in this city for pay that averages no more than thirty cents a day.† Now what does such wretched remuneration as this mean? It means hunger, it means cold, it means misery, and too often it means degradation! for when a woman is starving and freezing she must have a heart of adamant to resist the tempter who comes to her and offers her comfort and luxury as the price of vice!‡

But for all these struggling souls Dr. Dix has not a word. The whole, sole, solitary training of a woman must be for the home, which, considering the facts of the case, is about as sensible as if all young men were to be educated for the ministry, with the absolute certainty that there would never be pulpits enough for them to preach from. And even when

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* The average wages of women in this country are stated to be only $4 a week by Mr. Charles Wyllis Eliott, in his article on "Woman's Work and Wages," in the *North American Review*, August, 1882.

† Annual Report Working Women's Protective Union.

‡ "Woman is best paid to prostitute herself."—*N. Y. Medical Record*, Aug. 30, 1879.

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women are married, may it not be desirable for them to have some art, some trade, or profession, by which they may earn what will make their homes more complete and their lives happier? Machinery has taken from women all their old avocations—spinning and weaving, knitting and sewing; the occupations that once filled up all women's time and made their services of industrial value have been taken from them by the inventions of the last century. Even the potting, and pickling, and preserving, that were once done at home, are now done at factories, and unless a woman has an unusually large family of children she will have much leisure time, which might be profitably employed if only fair opportunities in life were open to all.

The sad story of one of my young companions strongly illustrates this fact. Pretty, brilliant and attractive, she early married a man of good social position in New York, and was introduced into fashionable life. Her husband was amiable and kind, but had no capacity for money-making. They had two children, one of whom soon died, so that there was but one little one to occupy the mother's time and thoughts, and this, a boy, who was soon at school. She was expected to take her place in society, to be well-dressed, have a carriage, and all

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those expensive luxuries which fashionable life demands, and there was no money to supply all this. She was pretty, as I have said, and, in the midst of this gay city, surrounded by constant temptation, she made a gallant struggle in that desperate effort to "keep up appearances," doing a large part of the work in her home, practising the most rigid economy, but, of course, refused all opportunities of earning anything.

She was remarkably quick at figures, and had exceptional executive ability, and, in discussing with me the present position of women, she more than once said, "If I only had some way of earning money! If I could only have gone into father's bank I know I could have done well, and been getting a good salary." But, of course, every one, including Dr. Dix, would have been shocked at such a suggestion. She would have met men there! And so she met men at parties and scenes of gayety, where the association was a thousandfold more harmful than any business companionship, and—the end is too sad to relate—she lies in an alien grave, dead by her own hand.

Every day the necessity is becoming more apparent of giving women an education that shall fit them for their present position in life, their actual

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duties to-day, and not for some place they held in the past, or some position they may take in the future. A special training, keeping women always within doors, and fitting them for housekeeping only, tends to exaggerate the present weaknesses of the feminine character. Indeed, the sort of education which women receive to-day is often a positive injury rather than a benefit.

Mr. Buckle says, in his admirable work on the "Influence of Women in the Progress of Knowledge": "That women think quicker than men because they are more deductive than men, is a proposition which all may not relish, and which yet may be proved in a variety of ways. Indeed, nothing could prevent its being universally acknowledged except the fact that the remarkable rapidity with which women think is obscured by that miserable, that contemptible, that preposterous system, called their education, by which valuable things are carefully kept from them, and trifling things are carefully taught them, until their fine and nimble minds are too often irretrievably ruined."

That this is painfully true a consideration of the training of any fashionable girl will speedily prove. Only think what would be the effect on a set of young men who should be reared like girls, kept

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mostly in the house, forbidden to romp lest they should be "tom-boys," with their waists compressed by corsets, and their limbs hampered by skirts, their whole frames debilitated by their cruel dress and indoor lives, instructed only in the lighter accomplishments, forced to spend many hours of each day in playing on the piano and the setting of minute stitches, and taught that beauty was their highest gift, and marriage the object of life. What sort of creatures would these young men be at twenty? I think we may really found a claim for woman's superiority on the fact that, in spite of this monstrous process of destruction, our girls are as bright as they are. I fancy boys would hardly come out as well.

These young women, thus softly trained, and too often kept in ignorance of the evil of the world they must live in, are thrown into society with young men who have had a robust and varied education, and are well informed on the problems of life. No wonder these youths are likely to feel little respect for these gentle, and too often mentally feeble beings.

Dr. Dix, in his last lecture, drew a forcible picture of the want of deference now shown to women, the freedom with which a society man will treat the

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maidens he meets, and the disappearance of the old civility. It is quite true, the days of chivalry are over; women no longer command homage simply by reason of their sex; though, if you analyze that much-vaunted courtesy of the past, you will find it was paid to rank rather than to womanhood; for formerly, as to-day, a gentleman who would relieve a lady of a basket or other burden would hand it with indifference to her maid-servant.

Still it must be admitted that there is a great change in the freedom of intercourse among young people in society; and the ceremonious deference with which a gentleman of the last century asked a lady's hand in the dance is in strong contrast with the careless manner of the waltzer to-day, who beckons to his chosen partner across the ball-room, with the light request, "Dance—take a turn?"

In these things there are signs of the times, plain as the handwriting on the wall, to show that the only hope for women and for morality is to place in the hands of all women the power of self-protection. It is sometimes claimed that men are the "natural protectors" of women. Are they? Who is it that women fear on lonely roads at night, the members of their own sex or of that sex that claim to be their natural protectors? Any observer of the

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world knows, that while men may be very good protectors for the women of their own families, they are often very poor protectors for the women of other men's families.

Ah, no! a woman to-day, who sees as much of life as she must, even from the most secluded home, must, for her own sake and for her daughters' sake, be equipped with good education, and such admitted social and political power as shall give her the ability to command the respect of the men she meets. Here is the only hope of society and the world, that women shall meet men as their intellectual equals, and have the right to insist that men shall only associate with them as their moral equals.

Dr. Dix says of men to-day: "The sins of men are rank, their follies excessive and without number, their rebellion against God horrible and defiant; they are worse than women;" and again: "I believe that women are morally the superiors of men." *

And yet he would have all laws, legal and social, made by the members of that sex which he holds to be least virtuous! How can women keep even their homes pure if men permit themselves a wild

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 96

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license of indulgence that too often renders their wives wretched, and transmits even to their daughters the taint of unbridled passions! The misery which comes from men's lawlessness surely cannot be charged on women, for the different code of morality for the two sexes is an invention certainly of men alone; and yet this wise doctor, like Adam before him, blames the woman, and lays the culpability for all social disorders on women alone.

"Generally I say this: that it is the faithlessness of woman to her mission and her duty which emboldens the arch conspirators against her honor." *

It is really amazing, in reviewing these lectures from the beginning, to see how throughout they are pervaded with the idea that women ought to be silent and subordinate, and yet may properly be held responsible for everything in active life. And the other idea, that the world is absolutely man's, and woman is only allowed any place in it or any advantages at his good pleasure, and ought to be very grateful for any toleration she now enjoys. In his second lecture Dr. Dix uses these remarkable words:

"When the clamor for rights appears to be taking the form of a competition with men in a field

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 98.

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which God has reserved for men only, in work not suited to the woman, and in professions already overstocked, that must end, not in enhancing the merit of woman in his eyes, but in making her offensive and detestable. There is a point beyond which patience will not hold out, and of this let the woman be sure: that if she go too far the end will come; and men, having long borne her manners, and finding that she is becoming a social nuisance and a general tormentor, will finally lose all respect for her, and thrust her away with loathing and disgust, and bid her behave herself and go back to her old inferiority." *

One is at once amused and indignant at reading this extraordinary tirade. The cool way in which this pulpit dictator assumes that the world is made for men, and that women have no rights here except what they choose to give them; the calm assumption that he knows what work is "unsuited for woman;" and the dreadful penalties he fulminates against one half the human race, to be inflicted by the other half,—all these things show how utterly this commentator on life fails to see the facts of the world as they are.

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 57.

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He would forbid women to enter certain occupations as "unsuited to them"—he himself, we presume, to be the judge of the suitability—and does not see that the labor of any individual should be limited only by the abilities which God has given! His declaration that women should not enter professions "already overstocked" makes one think of the remark of a certain physician in England, when the question was mooted whether women should enter the medical profession: "Do these women know that there is not work enough for us men doctors now?"—as if the world must of course belong to men, and that only after they had filled all desirable positions might women expect to be allowed to take some humble places, and perhaps pick up a few of the crumbs which fell from their well-spread table.

The learned rector of Trinity, then, well-schooled, doubtless, in the lore of the past, but absolutely ignorant of the world as it is, after thus plainly stating how subordinate to man woman is, and ought to be, proceeds to blame her for all the sins against the home to-day.

And really the worthy rector draws so dismal a picture of the homes he has seen that one is tempted to ask what sort of society he has kept that can warrant such utterances as these:

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"We see all about us the wrecks of homes, the shadows and ghosts of homes, the parodies of homes; slowly are dying out the home-life, the home-influence, the home-training, the home-religion." *

How false to facts! What an insult to the thousands of happy homes in our land to-day! Ah, if this lecturer wishes to see really happy homes, let him visit the homes of those women who are laboring for the elevation of their sex.

I know that it has been a favorite sneer to declare that "strong-minded" women neglected their duties to their families; but, on the face of the statement, it is likely to be false. If you find a woman full of energy as a writer, as a speaker, in her reform work, you may be sure she will carry that same energy into the administration of her household, and the hands that have been helpful to the world outside will not fall listless in the sacred realm of home.

Never shall I forget the visit it was once my happiness to pay to the home of Lucretia Mott. It was on an evening during the Centennial summer, while I was visiting Philadelphia, and, leaving the

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 114.

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hot and dusty city, went a short distance on the cars, in the cool of the evening, to the abode of that venerated woman—a pretty cottage standing in the dewy country, with grand old trees shadowing its substantial proportions and wide piazzas. Within all was order and neatness, every room in most perfect and scrupulous trim. Presently we were bidden to a well-spread table, where admirably-cooked food was daintily served, and later, on the piazza, we gathered about that noble woman, who, in the evening of her days, could look back to a life well spent in devotion to her family, and beyond that, to the welfare of humanity. She sat among us with the silvery moonlight falling on her lovely face and the pure white of her cap and kerchief; and her chair seemed transfigured to a throne grander than any throne on earth, for it was built up by the purity and beauty of her life.

Ah, friends, the good, anxious rector of Trinity need not fear the destruction of the home, if he will only let women's voices be heard in the control of society. Home! Why it is the dearest sound to any true woman's heart, the one place we all dream of and we all love. My own few brief absences from home have taught me how the thoughts and the affections cling with persistent tenderness to the

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spot where the loved ones are left, and how invisible threads seem to be ever drawing the traveller back to the fireside and the family.

Have we any of us forgotten our childhood? No! Its tender memories linger with us, though the stream of time is bearing us rapidly away from that land of sunshine and of flowers. Still, as we are borne swiftly onward, we catch the faint echo of the laughter and the songs of that light-hearted time; and who was the central figure of that picture of the past? The mother, going with us hand in hand, sharing our pleasures, consoling our sorrows, and training us in our obligations and our duties. Perchance the grass has waved green on her grave for many a long summer; but still the heart longs sometimes for her counsels, or yearns with an ache that will never wholly cease for one touch from that dear hand, one tone of that beloved voice that is silent on earth forever!

It is this mother-influence that we would see powerful to-day, the purifying, the ennobling, the moral qualities that make the household happy, that should have their place in the Government also; then, indeed, should we have many happier homes than we have to-day.

For we all know that there are homes wretched

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as any that Dr. Dix describes, yet not by woman's sins alone; for where one home is ruined by woman's extravagance, a hundred are destroyed by man's vices; and if the wife is sometimes stupid, or negligent, or frivolous, how often is the husband the master and the tyrant, or the drunkard and the brute!

There are homes where the wretched mother vainly strives to obtain from her husband enough money from his earnings to keep her children alive; homes where the wife, instead of listening joyfully for the sound of her husband's home-coming footstep, hears his heavy tread with shivering terror. Shall I read to you the stories of wife-murderers and wife-beaters that blacken the pages of our journals day after day? Why the night would not be long enough to relate the records of even a few months. So common are such events that the papers carelessly chronicle even the darkest of them, under "Minor Items," or as "Another Wife Murder." Did any one ever hear of "Another Husband Murder"?

The wife-beater, surly brute! stalks abroad in our streets; the faithless husband lounges on every street corner, and then this dull-eyed observer charges women with being the destroyers of home!

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In this city, during one quarter, 463 men deserted their families, and only 3 women;* yet he declares that women desire to be rid of children, and asserts that the coming of a child is often unwelcome to the mother; is it never unwelcome to the father?

I have known cases, and so have you, doubtless, where the wife dared not tell her husband of the trembling hope that was in her heart, lest he should receive the intelligence with grumbling discontent,† and if women are reluctant to assume the responsibility of children, men are far more reluctant to meet the expense.

Much is said by all the critics of women's position to-day with regard to their duty to their children.

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* Police Record, 1882.

† This subject is too delicate to be dealt with in a public discourse; but instances are by no means rare in which the husband acted and spoke as if the coming of a child was an invention on the part of his wife, which he had good reason to resent, and made her condition a reason for denying to her what few indulgences her life could have, on the ground that closer economy must be practised, speaking always as if the baby were an extravagance of her own; and yet this same man would have been very indignant at any denial of what he considered his marital rights. If women do practise any of the "vile arts," which Dr. Dix denounces, they are undoubtedly nine times out of ten persuaded or driven to them by their husbands.

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These duties cannot be too highly estimated, but women do not need to be preached to on the subject. The divinest instinct of the heart is the mother's love for her child, and Dr. Dix would do well to spend some time in discoursing to men on their duties as fathers—duties only second in importance to the mother's, and far more likely to be neglected. It is a curious and cruel feature of the present social condition that while women are so loudly talked to of these duties, they legally have no rights whatsoever to their children in a large number of the States of this Union.

In New York, as in many other States, the law declares the father to be "the natural guardian of the child." "The natural guardian!" One would be sure that no woman had any voice in framing that statute, when nature herself points beyond question to the mother as the only "natural guardian" of her offspring.

New York law goes farther than this, and gives to the father the absolute right to dispose of the child. It does not legally belong to the mother for a single moment of its existence! By an infamous law,* passed in 1871, the father of a child, though he

* Guardian and Ward, Rev. Stat., N. Y. 1871.

"SEC. 1. Every father, whether of full age or a minor, of

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be a minor, may dispose of the custody and tuition of his child—by deed, if he be living, and by will, even if he die before he ever see its face. You will tell me such a law matters little. Ah, yes, in the happy homes, of which we have so many, in spite of Dr. Dix, homes where husband and wife are happy equals in the care of their children; but laws are not needed to control good men, and we know that in every community there are many bad ones, who will and do use this statute to work infinite woe to women.

On this point, as on that of wife-beating, there is a long and terrible record drawn from our probate and police courts—stories of women made wretched by being robbed of their children.* Let me tell

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a child, likely to be born, or of any living child, under the age of twenty-one years and unmarried, may, by his deed or last will, duly executed, dispose of the custody and tuition of such child, during its minority, to any person or persons in possession or remainder.

"SEC. 2. Every such disposition from the time it shall take effect shall vest in the person or persons to whom it shall be made all the rights and powers, and subject him or them to all the duties and obligations, of a guardian of such minor, and shall be valid and efficient against any other person claiming the custody or tuition of such minor in socage or otherwise."

* The law puts a positive premium on immorality, as the poor girl, whose child is born out of wedlock, owns it, while the respectable wife has no legal right to her child. In

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you only one of these: Within two months, here in this city, a Chinaman, who had married a decent Irish wife, took her baby from her when it was only three days old.* The poor wretched mother appealed to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and the man was brought into court. When asked what he had done with the baby, he replied that he had given it to his brother to be taken away to China. Had the judge one word of censure for this? Not a syllable. His comment was:

"You did perfectly right; you are the natural guardian of the child; you had a right to dispose of it as you thought best;" and to the wretched mother standing there, sobbing and shivering in her poor clothes, he said merely: "Go home, my good woman; you should not be out in such a storm." No reproof at this act, paralleled only in slave annals! Why a kind-hearted man would not treat

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Michigan, where there is a similar law, a woman, who was threatened with having her children taken from her, went into court and swore they were not her husband's, though every one knew her to be an honorable wife. Thus only could she keep her darlings with her.

* Case of "Ah Ying and His Baby."—New York *Star*, Nov. 30, 1882. It will be observed that even in this heading the baby is spoken of as "his"—ignoring the mother.

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his dog or his cat as this man treated his wife—taking her baby from her breast when it was only three days old! And yet good Dr. Dix cannot see that women have anything to complain of!

We ask better laws to-day for the sake of our children, because we love them. We can guard them now while they lie in our arms, we can protect them while they toddle at our feet, but when they pass beyond our portals, then what power have we to shield them? Men have opened on every side the doors of places that shall lead our sons—aye, and even our daughters—down to destruction, and we have no power to close them. It is because we love our children, because for their sakes we would use our influence beyond the home to make the world purer and better, that we are asking for greater liberties to-day.

In a happy home and for the rearing of a virtuous family there are needed the two essential elements, a good man and a good woman; the former as important a factor in the problem as the latter. Many such men there are throughout our fortunate land, we all know, men who are true to their homes, to their wives, to all the duties of life. It is because of this fact, that we have so many excellent men, whose kind hearts make laws for their action far

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more beneficient than any their ancestors have written, that you find so many women who feel as if there were no need of any change. Their own lives are so sheltered that they cannot realize how others who are out in the storm need better advantages and a purer moral code than exists today.

Ah, my sisters, because we have dear homes and good husbands, shall we not be able to see those others of our sex who are suffering? Even if we are happy, shall we not have pity on the unhappy ones? A woman need not have endured any wrong herself to feel the wrongs of others. The good Wilberforce and the eloquent Charles Sumner had never themselves felt the lash of the whip, yet their hearts were full of compassion for the slave; and if some of us have husband, children, home, luxury, it the more behooves us out of our abundance to reach helping hands to women who are struggling or unfortunate.

The happy home, then, needs the union of both the masculine and feminine elements. A household of women alone is but a forlorn place, while a Western "ranche," where men dwell without women, is prone to become not merely forlorn, but disreputable. The sexes need the companionship of each

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other in all the departments of life, each modifying the special characteristics of the other, and united forming a harmonious whole.

And how much more likely are marriages to be well formed where there is the association of young people, not only in the ball-room where they are on their good behavior, but in the class-room also, where whatever is stupid, whatever is ill-tempered, is prone to come to the surface.

By the way, it is quite amusing to hear Dr. Dix and others crying out in denunciation of co-education, as if it were something new, when many of our fathers and mothers and all our grandfathers and grandmothers were co-educated; when, in fact, as soon as you pass out of New York city, you will find all over the country "mixed schools" where both sexes are taught side by side.

How often, if in the country in winter, we have seen the little ones going to school together. In the clear cold of some bright morning, when the snow has built airy castles on the fences, and the frost has fringed the roof with icicles, the little group of young creatures has passed by with their rosy cheeks aglow, their light breath circling in the crisp air, their shrill voices sounding clearly, making with their scarlet caps and mufflers and mittens

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a patch of color across the snow. Some of the larger boys are very likely dragging some of the girls on their sleds as they go by, in happy unconsciousness that they are guilty of the shocking impropriety of being co-educated.

The reminiscences of these early school-friendships are very pleasant, and often last a lifetime. I remember how an old lady who sat with me one day read the news of the death of a man older than herself, and laid down the paper with the tears springing to her eyes as she said: "He was such a nice boy! How often in the cold winter mornings he has drawn me to school on his sled."

And now let us consider for a moment the qualifications which a woman should have to make her the good wife and mother, and citizen also, doing her duty to the home and the world as well; and such a woman we find described in the chapter in Proverbs which I read to you before beginning my lecture. Now Dr. Dix himself, in one of his earlier discourses, quoted from this same chapter, and yet with his masculine vision was quite unable to understand the meaning of the verses, plain as they are to any feminine eyesight.

We are told, in the first place, in verse 11, that "the heart of her husband doth safely trust in her;"

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showing that this perfect woman, described as a model for all time, was not a silly, dependent weakling, but a woman, with all womanly grace and beauty doubtless, but also strong and self-reliant, so that husband and children could safely rely upon her in every emergency.

The succeeding verses tell how she excelled in all feminine arts, working in "wool and flax," rising early in the morning to attend to her household cares, indicating that all these home duties were faithfully performed, although the next verse tells us that she went out into the world and transacted business:

"She considereth a field, and buyeth it: with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard."

No mention is made of her asking her husband whether she should buy the property or not, or meekly signing her name to a paper after he had bought it without consulting her, and very likely with her money. The next verse again expatiates on her strength:

"She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms."

It is evident that, as she was strong in body, she was strong in mind also, and this strength, instead of being denounced as unbecoming, is highly commended.

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The next two verses again depict her household labors, and then, in verse 20, we have a record of her charities:

"She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy."

A perfect woman indeed, foremost in all good words and work! Then follows a description of the clothing of her family, including her own, showing that she did not neglect her dress, but was attired "in silk and purple," as befitted her rank.

And now we come to verse 23, to which I desire especially to call your attention:

"Her husband is known in the gates, when he sitteth among the elders of the land."

You will perceive that he is known as "her husband," pointed out doubtless as the husband of this grand woman. Evidently he did not amount to very much himself, and was only known as her husband. A very good sort of man, doubtless, but quite inferior to her.

Even Dr. Dix could hardly describe this woman as "a clinging vine"—by the way, what an absurd simile that is! In the first place, every one knows what happens to a tree if a vine does cling to it: it kills the tree. However, conceding that it may be very nice for the vine to have a tall and lofty

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oak to cling to, what are you going to do for those vines who have no oaks at all, or for those others whose oaks turn out to be no better than corn-stalks?

We return now to the description of this perfect woman, who was no shrinking violet seeking the shade, but rather a splendid magnolia, shedding light and fragrance on all about her.

The verse following again speaks of her public transactions in selling "girdles to the merchants," and then, as if the poet could never too much exult in her glorious strength, there is added another verse of commendation:

"Strength and honor are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come."

The next verse is very important as showing how perfectly rounded is her character:

"She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness."

Ah, sisters, what a lesson for us all in this sentence! This grand woman was no slanderer, no spreader of gossip; but with her noble intellect was joined a kind heart, and for those less fortunate, even the erring, she had words of tender charity. Well might it be said of her, as in the succeeding verse:

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"Her children rise up, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her."

The closing verses are all devoted to further praise of this most perfect woman, described as a model for her sex, and, one would think, for the utter discomfiture of Dr. Dix and all others who would pretend to condemn women to a restricted and dependent life, and find a warrant for their dictations in this good book.

The last verse of all is especially a wonderful contradiction to those who assert that it is of divine decree that women shall lead lives of subordination and obscurity; it runs thus:

"Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates."

Now this "praise in the gates" was the greatest publicity a person could have in those days when newspapers were unknown; we specially commend this verse to the consideration of this worthy divine, who was so shocked that a woman's name should be publicly known, and printed in full like a man's.

This noble woman, then, excellent in all the relations of life, as wife, as mother, as housekeeper, and as friend, had also her distinct public duties, all admirably fulfilled, and yet remained kind, charitable, and loving. And this honored citizen received

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her due reward in the admiring respect of the world.

Well might it be said of the husband of such a woman, "She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life," and lofty indeed must be the qualities of the man who would be the fitting mate of this full-rounded and perfect creature!

In the dismal pictures of the society of to-day which this modern Jeremiah has drawn, he hints that there is danger that love will disappear from the world. "It is averred that now nobody falls in love, that the age of sentiment is past."* How ignorant must this good man be of the facts of life. He discoursed eloquently the other evening on the novels of the day, showing an extensive acquaintance with them.† Perhaps, as he spends so much time in the perusal of this light fiction, he has no leisure for reading the newspapers, which teem every day with tragedies which are the result of love, —sometimes, indeed, ill-regulated and illicit love, but often the result of disappointed marriage hopes, and plainly proving that the day is yet far distant when "man will plod on alone as best he may,

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 87.

† He especially admires the works of Marian Harland. See foot-note to page 99 of Lenten Lectures for 1883.

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misanthropical, hateful, and like one upon whose journey has descended the darkness of a night without a star." *

Cruel and terrible as is ill-regulated passion, do we not all believe that love in its highest and purest form is the redeeming happiness of humanity? The foundation of every true home must be a harmonious and congenial marriage, a union begun and continued in love—that love which glorifies and illumines life, which makes one man and one woman more than all the world to each other, which so enwraps them that, illumined by this wonderful light "that never was on sea or land," they stand within a new creation, the Adam and Eve of a Garden of Eden, fair as all the dreams of myth or fable; a love that sets apart its ideal, crowned with a grace and beauty indescribable, and transfigures a very ordinary being to a transcendent loveliness. As the lover in Bulwer's poem says:

"There moved about thee forms as fair,
There whispered tones as sweet,
But round thee breathed the enchanted air
'Twere life or death to meet;
And henceforth thou alone wert fair,
And, though the stars had sung for joy, thy whisper only sweet."

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 89.

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And later, when the couple thus divinely united go hand in hand to meet life's duties and life's cares, though the toils and trials of every day may destroy somewhat of the romance of passion, there remains in its place a tender affection, a deep, abiding love, that is better in its calm sense of restful companionship than all the tumult of the first excitement.

Do we not daily know and see such unions as these, and meet couples who all their lives long are happiest only when together, and who

> "Love on through all ills, and love on till they die,
> With hearts never changing, and brows never cold"?

I well remember a venerable pair whom I reverenced in my childhood, always together, happy in each other's companionship after fifty years of marriage, with a complete content that no young love ever gave. Silver-haired and growing feebler as the time passed on, they were at last little seen beyond their home, as their steps grew more slow, their frames more frail, until the gentle messenger came to bear them to their rest, and took first the tender wife. She died in the morning of a beautiful spring day, when all nature was re-enacting the miracle of the resurrection, and all day long the

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companion of so many years mourned beside the faded form that was all that was left of his hearts' darling.

"I must go with Mary," he moaned; "I must go with Mary, she will be so lonely without me; I must go with Mary!"

And it was even so; as the last rays of the light faded the death-angel bore him away to be with Mary in the land where there is never any more parting. Hand in hand they had walked through life's path together in the sunshine and the storm; hand in hand they crossed the shadowy river and sought the golden shore.

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LECTURE III.

THE CAUSES OF DIVORCE.

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LESSON FOR THIRD LECTURE.

EPHESIANS.

CHAP. V.

17. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord *is*.

18. And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit;

19. Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord;

20. Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ;

21. Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God.

22. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord.

23. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church; and he is the saviour of the body.

24. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so *let* the wives *be* to their own husbands in every thing.

25. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it;

26. That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word,

27. That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.

28. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself.

29. For no man ever yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the church;

30. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.

31. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.

32. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church.

33. Nevertheless let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself; and the wife *see* that she reverence *her* husband.

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LECTURE III.

THE CAUSES OF DIVORCE.

In his last discourse Dr. Dix drew a sad picture of the present condition of society, and predicted a future gloomy as a prophecy of Prof. Wiggins, and as little likely of fulfilment. He expatiated at length on the increasing number of divorces in this country, and the social disorders thus produced, but never once considered the causes which to-day lead to more dissolutions of the marriage vows than were ever before known.

The learned dóctor considered the whole question in an entirely empirical manner, like the quack who endeavors to heal a man by some external application, without touching the hidden sources of the disease under which he is suffering; so the doctor would have divorces prevented by legislation, and thinks that all unhappiness in married life can at once be removed by the passage of laws forbidding any dissolution of the bond, instead of looking deeper into our social conditions, and inquiring why

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it is that so many persons are anxious to escape their wedded obligations.

Really happy couples are not desirous of separating; to them the condition of the divorce laws is a matter of indifference; they would remain together though all legal unions were abolished; but when persons are wretched together, they look eagerly for the means of escape from their mutual unhappiness. The true way, then, to lessen the number of divorces is to increase the happiness of the marriage relation; and the teacher who would strive to make men and women better should study the causes of the increase of divorce before attempting to discuss the remedy.

And we charge that the most potent cause of divorce to-day is to be found in that monstrous doctrine of the headship of man, which permits the husband to usurp all authority, to hold all the joint earnings, and absolutely fosters in even good men a spirit of tyranny which may well drive a wife into indignant rebellion.

But Dr. Dix, so far from seeing this self-evident fact, or attempting to analyze the reasons for married unhappiness, calmly reasserts the old doctrine, a relic of the oppressions of those dark ages for which the rector of Trinity has so tender a regard.

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"A woman must be subject to her husband in everything." *

"The father is priest over his household." †

These utterances, and others of a like character, appear constantly in his discourses, and for these declarations he affects like the other masculine interpreters, to find authority, in the Bible, entirely overlooking or ignoring all texts or relations in the good book which would prove the contrary.

For instance, he quaintly asserts that man should be the head of the family, because "Adam was first formed, then Eve." What does that prove? Either nothing, or that man is inferior to the fishes. For another sentence of equal truth, and proving that man should be subordinate to the finny tribe, might readily be framed thus: "For the fishes were first formed, then Adam."

The order of creation as related in Genesis, was apparently a progressive one, always towards higher forms of life. First grass and herbs, then fishes, next birds, then beasts, next man, and last of all, as the grand crowning act of creative power, woman.

There is no other really intelligent reading of the account but this, and woman is either the lowest in

* Lenten Lectures, for 1883, p. 137.

† Ibid., p. 114.

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the scale, in which case man is next lowest, or she stands highest, as the most perfect of all God's creatures. This we believe to be the real meaning of the story of Eden, and that as man walked the earth desolate and forlorn until woman was formed, so now does the world wait for the coming of woman into an equal partnership with man in that joint dominion which was originally given, to redeem society and government, as of old Eve brought order and happiness even into Paradise.

But many preachers, including the Rector of Trinity, endeavor to find a reason for woman's subordination in the terrible curses hurled against our first parents when they were driven from their garden home. Here, again, however, we find this fancy a mere misconception. Those awful words cannot by any reasonable interpretation be construed into a law for our guidance: they are rather a prophecy of the future, which has, in woman's case, been terribly fulfilled. "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee!" is a picture of her cruel fate, and not a rule of life.

Against man also was fulminated a curse or a prediction that he should earn his bread "by the sweat of his brow," yet by the one-sidedness of masculine commentation, while all men consider themselves

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entitled to evade the literal fulfillment of this prophecy, they still hold all women to be in subjection to it. What does the white-handed Rector of Trinity Church know of contending with "thorns and thistles?" and yet he preaches to all women the "duty" of subordination to their husbands!

This worthy preacher, like many a clerical brother, finds ample reason for the headship of man in the famous text in the New Testament dwelt on so often with complacency by masculine expounders: "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man." *

This text Dr. Dix himself quotes as proving woman's subordination, yet while he insists upon the literal meaning of the last clause, he evidently does not attach any force whatsoever to the first clause, since he has himself established many schools where women teach, besides employing them largely in Sunday-schools.

This is the peculiarity, however, of this learned divine, as well as of his less cultured colleagues in the pulpit, that he interprets a text according to the letter if it suit him, or freely if it so please him better. Somewhat on this wise, a woman must not

* I. Tim. ii: 12.

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B. F. Odell

usurp authority over a man: this must be accepted just as it stands; but if, you say, I find in the same chapter a verse declaring that women must not wear pearls, or braided hair, is this to be taken literally? The ready answer is, Oh, no; only in general terms as denouncing extravagance. If you urge still farther, I find this verse:

"I will therefore that men pray everywhere holding up holy hands." * What does this mean? Oh that is a general injunction to godliness: it does not mean that men must go about always holding up their hands, of course, but this other verse about women not usurping authority over a man—there is no question that this text must be taken just as it stands.

So, again, when King George pointed to the text "Obey the King," as proof that the American colonies ought to be in subjection to his rule whatever he did, that was only absurd, of course, but the other text, "Wives obey your husbands"—that can never be set aside: there is no doubt as to the force of that command.

This is a specimen of the kind of reasoning with which men have striven to satisfy women that their

* I. Tim. ii: 8.

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claim for supremacy was founded on the Bible! and now let us consider the verses which I read to you just now. We find there one of the favorite texts with those who maintain the headship of man

"Wives submit yourselves unto your husbands."

This sounds very explicit; but close beside it, in the next preceding verse, are other words that no one ever contrasts with these: they are, "submitting yourselves one to another." Now, what does this mean? Does it mean that every man must be obedient to his neighbor, as some persons would maintain that a wife must obey her husband? That each man must ask of some other man leave to go in and out, what money he may spend, and generally "submit himself to his neighbor" as a wife must, according to Dr. Dix, "submit to her husband"?

Certainly not. This verse evidently means simply that neighbors should be courteous one to the other, nothing more, and so the succeeding verse must mean merely that wives must be courteous to their husbands, nothing more, for surely not even Dr. Dix could say the same words had one signification in one verse, and a totally different one in the next!

Following after this, we find two other verses which define the wife's duty to the husband, and

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nine verses carefully describing the husband's duty to the wife. As a rule, men say very little about these beautiful texts. I have in church heard a clergyman read with marked emphasis the three verses about wives, quite in a style to impress the women of the congregation with a sense of their subject condition, and then slur over the nine following verses so that they did not seem to mean much at all.

As in this case the commentator is a woman, we will reverse this order of proceeding and especially consider the nine verses about husbands. Now, what do we find in these verses? That once again is reiterated the declaration of Adam that "a man should leave father and mother and cleave to his wife," a statement that might almost be claimed to prove woman's superiority. But without ungraciously insisting upon this—we will be more generous than men—we will pass to a consideration of the especially interesting points.

In the 25th verse the husbands are told that they ought to love their wives so that they will be willing to die for them; in the 28th verse that a man should "love his wife even as his own body," and this is the teaching of the whole passage. How many men live up to it? How many clergymen

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teach this to their congregations? that a man must love his wife even as himself and be willing to lay down his life for her!

Ah, how often does a man think he may claim obedience and submission from his wife, yet is far from loving her as he loves his own body! For what does this mean? It means that a man will give to his wife a love beyond all words, a love that will cause him to be to her ever tender, devoted, gentle, that will make him desire to share with her every pleasure, to give to her every luxury that he himself enjoys: a love so deep and strong and unselfish that he will be willing to die for her. You may be sure that the woman thus loved will indeed "reverence her husband."

Ah, friends, there is one rule that will settle forever all vexed questions between husband and wife —a rule of conduct that was laid down by one whom even Dr. Dix will hold as greater than St. Paul, the gentle Founder of the Christian faith himself, who said, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you."

In these beautiful words is a guide of conduct that will forever prevent divorce; the man who remembers this law in his dealings with his wife will have no need to go to the law courts for relief. In

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this golden maxim is a complete contradiction to any claim in support of the headship of man, and yet that claim has been persisted in for centuries, and finds plenty of supporters to-day.

It is engrafted and incorporated in the English common law, which declared that on marriage a woman was "merged" in her husband, and, according to Blackstone, that the "husband and wife were one, and that one the husband."

A beautiful theory, truly, for men—not quite so pleasant for our half of creation. It is no wonder that men have liked and maintained these teachings: it must be so delightful to be told that one is greater and grander than another simply because one has black eyes, or brown hair, or from the other physical accident of sex, not because one is really nobler, abler, or more capable. So we find men in all ages gladly accepting any reason, however slender; any interpretation, however lame, that will enforce their authority over women. Milton, whose writings have been accepted by many as only second to inspiration, in his fanciful description of the life of Adam and Eve in the garden, carefully taught and reiterated the supremacy of man:

"He for God only, she for God in him." *

* Paradise Lost, Book IV.

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Thus he describes their relative positions, and again makes Eve say:

> "My master and disposer what thou bidd'st
> Unargued I obey; so God ordains;
> God is thy law, thou mine, to know no more
> Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise." *

Indeed, we may say that until within a very few years the writings of all men were pervaded with this idea, and among men there has always been, and is even now a sort of tacit bond or unsworn free-masonry which makes them unite in order to support under all circumstances the comfortable theory of masculine supremacy.

In one of Dickens's sketches there is an amusing description of a certain custom in use among a tribe of South African savages. The married men of this nation finding, like all married men everywhere, that it was very difficult to control their wives, were all banded together to enforce their marital authority. When, therefore, any wife was disobedient the husband informed some friend who, assuming a hideous disguise, hid himself in the bushes in a lonesome place, which the husband took care the fractious wife should pass after nightfall. Thereupon the hidden man leaped from his concealment, and

* Paradise Lost, Book IV.

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waving his arms and uttering frightful cries so terrified the poor woman that she fled to her husband for protection, who, on hearing her story, solemnly shook his head, saying, "Mumbo Jumbo!"

What this was he never deigned to explain; the words remained ever after a sound of terror, and if the wife ventured on any act of which her master disapproved, he had only to say, mysteriously, "Mumbo Jumbo!" to reduce her at once to obedience.

Do not the married men even here have a somewhat similar way of frightening their wives and all other women into proper submission by the fear of some mysterious danger no more real than "Mumbo Jumbo"?

In the summer of 1880 I chanced to be traveling at the West with other ladies, on what seemed to us important business, and occasionally we would meet some man who would say to us, always, no doubt, in the interest of our husbands, and with a general view of maintaining marital headship, "Pray, how does your husband like your being out here away from home?" to which the answer naturally was, "Next fall, when the Presidential contest is at its height, and Mr. Blaine and Mr. Conkling come out here to make speeches in behalf of the Republican

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candidate, will you say to them, 'Pray, how does your wife like your being out here away from home?'"

This other side of the question never occurs to a man, however: he is so entirely used to considering the relative positions of man and woman only from the point of view most agreeable to the masculine mind.

Conversing on this very question of the headship of man, a few evenings since, a gentleman said, "But surely you think under some circumstances a man should have the right to enforce obedience from his wife?"

"As what, for instance?" was asked.

"Let me state a case," was the reply. "A friend of mine had a wife who was very reckless in her conduct; she went so far that one night she came home under the influence of liquor and in the company of a strange man. Do you not think that her husband was justified in forbidding her from going out alone at night again?"

"By all means," I replied, "provided you will allow all wives whose husbands come home under the influence of liquor, or who associate with disreputable companions, to forbid them from going out alone at night again."

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This was an equality of rights that had never occurred to him. Men have such a large capacity for headship, and assume it with such complacent certainty that they are in the right in so doing! and for centuries women have so meekly accepted their subordinate position! An old lady who was a woman of more than usual wit, was asked why she had not remonstrated with her husband in regard to certain foolish investments he had made which had led to the utter loss of their fortune. "It was not for me to advise my husband," was her mild rejoinder. Perchance she feared had she attempted any suggestions that she might have received a reply as brutal as that of Charles XI., King of Sweden, to his lovely wife, when she ventured on a remonstrance with him:

"Madam, I took you to bear children and not to give councils."

This gentle lady, the mother of the lion-hearted Charles XII., was herself a woman of superior intellect, and her husband's cruel tyranny shortened her days.

I can see now a vision of my childhood, a sweet and noble woman, more than the equal of her brother in intellect and culture, yet constantly met in argument by the lordly assertion on his part,

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"women do not understand these things." And have you not been in many a home where the coming of the husband and father was the signal for a hush of constraint as he walked in, the evident lord and master of wife and children?

Undoubtedly there are many good and kind husbands, devoted husbands, and excellent husbands; but this doctrine of man's supremacy has been preached so long that it is nearly impossible even for the best of men wholly to shake off the idea of his headship. This fact was curiously illustrated by a little incident in the life of Stephen Foster, the excellent Quaker, who married years ago Abbey Kelley, the gifted anti-slavery speaker. Their union was remarkably happy; and although in Massachusetts, where they lived, the laws gave all the property to the husband, yet, by mutual consent, they held all things jointly.

It happened that after a time they decided to sell a certain farm, and Mr. Foster went into Hartford and caused an advertisement to be inserted in the county paper. When in due time the journal appeared he handed it to his wife, who read that at such a time and place "the farm of Stephen Foster" would be for sale. Raising her kind eyes she merely said:

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"Friend, whose farm did thee advertise?"

Thus reminding him that the announcement should have read, "the farm of Stephen and Abbey Kelley Foster," etc.

In relating the incident Mr. Foster was wont to grow eloquent over the fact that innate in man's nature was the spirit of tyranny over woman, ready to leap out and assert itself, even in one whose intellect and heart alike taught him that equality should be the rule.

Did you ever reflect, friends, on what sort of partnership it is which a young man proposes to a young woman when he offers himself to her in marriage? Let us analyze it a little, and see what any man would think if a similar proposal were made to him.

Suppose a man should come to another man and say: "I would like to have you unite with me in a partnership for life, but let me explain on what terms. In the first place the firm name shall be mine alone, you must give up your name entirely. Then all the money that we earn shall be mine alone, and I will give you only what I choose of it, providing you with such board and lodging as I see fit and giving you new clothes when I think you need them. You must fully understand, also, that

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I am to have perfect liberty to go and come as I please, but that you are never to go anywhere by day or by night without my leave." What reply would any intelligent and high-spirited man make to such a proposition? and yet this is substantially what any man says to a woman when he asks her hand in marriage.

To the young lady whose lover has been for months declaring himself "her slave" there must be something of a shock when she finds, a few weeks after marriage, that he has a very distinct idea that he is rightfully the master; and, as she looks on her new visiting card, bearing the words "Mr. and Mrs. So and So," the name his alone, and the Mr. placed before the Mrs., showing that he is regarded as really the superior, perhaps she realizes that she is in truth "merged" in her husband.

Of this present position of women Dr. Dix highly approves; he is opposed to any separation of property or earnings. There can, of course, be little doubt as to which one of the married partnership is to hold all the money. Not certainly the wife, but the husband, whose creed the wise doctor thinks may properly be, "What is yours is mine, and what is mine is my own," as he denounces vigorously even so much of protection in her own prop-

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erty and earnings as the law now gives the women of this State.

"It gives the woman a separate position and separate interests," he says. "She can hold property in her own right, she can sue and be sued apart;" and all this is very distasteful to our anti-progressive brother, who views with approval the old theory of man's headship, especially in all money matters.

Common justice would seem to declare that even where the husband alone is the bread-winner he should have no greater share in the family purse than his wife, and no more right to spend money in ways of which she would not approve than she would have to do the same thing. How many men live up to this rule?

A manufacturer, who employs large numbers of men, recently marked $700 which he paid out to his hands on a Saturday night, and within two weeks $342 of it was deposited in the bank by saloon-keepers in the neighborhood. One naturally wonders how much the wives of these men got for themselves and their children, and what these men would have said had their wives taken of their earnings to spend in a similar folly or vice?

How many married men are there who so truly "love their wives even as themselves" that they

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will put aside dollar for dollar as much money for those wives as they spend themselves on self-indulgence? Would not a man who spends $10 a week on cigars and liquors be horrified if his wife asked for an equal amount to spend on sugar-plums and ice-cream?

Even where a woman does all the work of a family, rising early and late taking rest, cooking and washing, cleaning and mending, and performing all sorts of housework, her husband will talk of "supporting" her,* and never seem to think that he owes her any wages for her labor. If she were to be taken ill, he would hire a girl to do her work, and give her board and lodging, of course, and $10 or so a month—good money paid down and no questions asked as to what she did with it—whereas to the good and faithful wife the same man will dole out grudgingly a few dollars at a time, too

* Under such circumstances a woman is actually a producer of wealth by her industry. For instance, her husband buys twelve yards of calico at ten cents a yard. She makes it into a dress worth from $2 to $5, according to the labor put on it. Or, the husband buys flour at six cents a pound, and the wife makes a pound of it into a dozen biscuits, worth one cent each. In these cases it would seem as if they each contributed the same amount to the family—one in material, the other in industry.

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often with the surly question, "What did you do with that last five dollars"?

When I was in the country last summer, the question of the voting of women at school elections was discussed one evening among several persons. The provisions of the law in this State, as you probably know, require that a woman to be a legal voter must have children going to school or own real estate, or have fifty dollars' worth of personal property. One man in the company was violently opposed to woman suffrage, and finally wound up the discussion by saying:

"Well, my wife can't vote any how. Her children are all grown up, and she hasn't got fifty dollars' worth of property in the world."

I had been told that the man was rich. I saw that his hair was white. I turned to him and asked, "How long have you been married?"

"Forty years!" he replied.

"And have kept 'help' to do the work of your family?"

"Oh, no; why, I wouldn't have a strange girl round the place; my wife is a better cook than any woman I ever saw."

"And she has done all the work of her family for forty years, and at the end of that time has not so

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much as a set of furniture, or a bit of jewelry, or even fifty dollars' worth of personal property in any form?"

I do not think it had ever crossed the man's mind that his conduct was unjust. It is not so much deliberate unkindness as thoughtlessness on the part of men, that leads to these oppressions, or rather the firm conviction that they have a right to everything —that headship doctrine which Dr. Dix so ardently supports.

An aged couple were sitting together in their farm-house home, the woman employed in finishing a rag-carpet. She looked up from her work and said, meditatively.

"I shan't never live to wear out this carpet, and I think I will leave it to Susan when I die."

Her husband regarded her in astonishment. "Why," he said, "that carpet ain't yours to give; it belongs to me!"

"I made it all myself," faltered the wife.

"But I'd like to know who you were working for? your time belongs to me!"

He was perfectly correct in his statement. If a man's wife is injured by accident, the husband can sue the company or individual through whose carelessness the accident has occurred for compensation

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for his loss of "the services of his wife." This is his only legal ground of complaint.

Men are too often parsimonious to their wives, even where the wife has labored side by side with her husband on a farm, or in a store, and is really entitled, on any ground of justice, to her share of the income of their mutual industry. This is one of the most unjust aspects of woman's present position—while a woman who works outside of her home is entitled to her earnings and protected in them by law, every dollar of the joint earnings is legally the husband's. For instance: A young couple married, and opened a grocery store. The wife gave $1,000 to the enterprise, as well as her services, waiting in the store day after day, besides doing all the housework and caring for her children. Every dollar that partnership earned belonged to the husband. Now, of course, if he were a model man, this would be quite right, the wife would have an equal share of everything, and the joint income would be jointly spent; but how many model men are there? This man was no worse than thousands of others in doing what he pleased with what he called, and was legally *his* money. He gave himself many indulgences he never gave his wife, though not a bad man, spending money for news-

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papers that pleased him, for a club of which she was not a member, and other things agreeable to himself. Finally, he took the joint profits without her knowledge, invested them foolishly, and died, leaving her after thirty years' of hard work to face an old age of poverty and dependence.

Do you think his wife had not realized his carelessness! Ah, women feel all these things very bitterly, though they do not say much. Women have told me so many stories of their distress over their condition, their anxiety with regard to the future. A childless wife said to me, not long ago, that she had worked early and late on the farm that had been partly bought with her money—planting corn, milking cows, and doing other out-door labor, besides all the indoor work, and yet could not persuade her husband to will her the farm, which, at his death, would go to his brothers, giving her only her dower-claim to one third of the rent of the real estate, which would be little enough. Another lovely young mother, married to a man much older than herself, was in similar anxiety. She had helped to buy their pleasant home in the village, and yet, neither by will or deed, would her husband give it to her—so that in case of his death, which must naturally precede hers, the property would go to

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his children by his first wife, leaving her only her dower-claim. Yet in both these cases the men were kind, and what the world would call good husbands.

Let any man ask himself how he would like to stand in such a position, to have labored for twenty years, and, in his prime, find that all his earnings belonged to another, and that before him for all his hard work lay the prospect of a penniless old age.

If these men could know how their wives really feel towards them! what indignation, what deep discontent there is in their hearts; how in the silent watches of the night the woman whom the man wishes to have love him, thinks of her life companion with coldness, even with resentment. Very probably he has no suspicion of this, for women bear these oppressions, these hardships with the patience born of long inherited habits of endurance, yet none the less are they beginning to make their plaints and their protests heard, feebly and faintly it may be, sometimes almost inarticulately, but as an undertone of sadness in the turmoil of men's voices shouting in their successful lives.

You have all of you traveled by night on a sleeping car, that whirled you away over the silent country; you have waked as the train which bore

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you on so comfortably rushed into some station, and the motion ceased that had lulled your slumbers, you have opened your eyes and gazed up at the depths of sky through which the sparkling stars shone down; you have looked out over the silent village and the still fields wrapped in shadow, and have thought how peaceful it all was!

And then from some neighboring track where a cattle-train stood there has come to you faint muffled moans, long-drawn sighs, deep, hoarse groans, the inarticulate cries of suffering creatures, and you have known that here, close beside you, was a mass of woe, wretched things starved and athirst, weary, and fever-stricken, too anguished for sleep, moving on to a hopeless destiny, a few hours of torture to end only in death.

Friends, when I hear those sad sounds I think of the endless moaning of women in our land, of the sighs, the tears, the plaints that in the dead watches of the night they, too, utter when they are too unhappy to sleep. For them, too, there is a hopeless destiny; their lives seem to the careless observer peaceful enough, but their hearts know the bitterness, a long torturing struggle and no rest but in the grave.

Is it any wonder that a woman who suffers under

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The reiteration of the idea of headships, the insistance that a wife belongs to her husband—this frightful doctrine drives women to desperation, to flight, to divorce! Among ruder men this theory seems to them to authorize the assertion of their mastery by blows and brutality. Recently a judge remonstrated with a man for having unmercifully beaten and pounded another man; the culprit looked at his victim penitently.

"I am very sorry, Judge," he said; "you see I was a little drunk and I thought it was my wife."

Perhaps he had read one of Dr. Dix's Lenten lectures.

The idea that a man owns his wife leads directly to the stories of brutality that blacken the pages of our papers, of the man who shut his wife up in her bedroom and then set his dog upon her, a fierce bloodhound that tore her quivering flesh and lacerated her poor body; at such a story as this that appeared in the *Sun* this week:

Bernard A. Fitzgerald, age 33, of 48 Scammel street, was yesterday arrested by a policeman, who found him beating his wife. Several clubs covered with blood were lying about the floor. The woman was tied with a rope to the bedpost and was unconscious and bleeding from wounds about the head. She was removed to the Chambers Street Hospital. Her two children were turned over to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

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The man to prison, the wife to the hospital, the children to a charity. Who broke up this home?

These, you will say, are extreme cases; so they are, but they are the direct outgrowth of the teachings of such men as this clerical tyrant, and are in fact incorporated in the very laws of our land. In very many of the States of this Union the law declares that letters of administration may be granted to, or wills made by all persons, "except idiots, persons of unsound mind, and married women"—a classsification not likely to inspire much respect for our sex.

In Pennsylvania, in the case of Richards *v.* Richards, the court declared that "it is a sickly sentimentality which holds that a man may not lay hands rudely if need be on his wife."

The Supreme Court of Mississippi, in the case of Bradley *v.* the State, asserted that "a husband should confine himself in proper bounds when he sees fit to correct his wife."

Very kind of the Judge, certainly; he probably would not approve of the bloodhound or the club, but how can he blame an angry man for going beyond "proper bounds" if he is allowed to "correct" his wife in any fashion?

Bishop, one of the standard authorities of this

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country, in his work on "Marriage and Divorce," defines the positions of husband and wife as resembling "that between parent and child, or guardian and maid," and declares that "the wife should conform to the tastes and habits of her husband." Some of the "tastes and habits" of some husbands would seem very queer if their wives did "conform to them," and took up the use of whisky and tobacco so as to be in full accord with "the head of the family."

Such legal maxims as these place women in a position so subordinate that they seem but the playthings, or dependents of men—a truly Oriental view of woman's place.

It is related of an Arab chief, whose daughter had recently married, that when she came to him in tears, declaring that her husband had struck her, he simply said, "On which cheek?" and when she had indicated it, dealt her a stinging blow on the other. "Now go home," said he, "and tell your husband that if he has struck my daughter I have struck his wife."

The woman herself was of no consequence except as she stood related to these men.

This story has its parallel in this country. A few years ago a young wife at the South fled from her

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husband's brutality to her father's protection. Through the night and the storm she wandered for three miles, and flung herself into her father's arms crying that her husband had struck her. What did her father do? He ordered his carriage with all speed, and putting his daughter into it, drove her back as fast as he could to her husband's roof; women had to bear a great deal, he said, and there must be no scandal.

There was no scandal then. But twenty years later the son of that woman, born only a few weeks after her flight, killed the father who had been always the "head of the family."

A recent divorce case in England is thus reported in the New York *World* of Feb. 23:

"The patient Griselda is still not without honor in England. Sir James Hannen, in the Probate and Divorce Court at London, has just dismissed the petition for a judicial separation from her husband of Mrs. Latham on the ground that she was in too much of a hurry to escape from a husband who merely beat her, tore off her clothes, threw her down, reviled her, wiped his shoes on her mantle, sate up all night to burn her clothes up, cut off one of her eyebrows, and shaved one side of her head. Sir James was astonished at the woman's impetuosity and petulance; and bade her wait till her husband should put her in danger of serious 'injury in life and limb.'"

This decision you will see supports the theory with regard to personal "correction" just quoted,

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and the same view is evidently held in our own State of New York, according to a recent decision, thus described in one of our journals:

"Five or six months ago the general term of the supreme court of New York ruled that a woman may maintain an action against her husband for beating her. The person whose pastime was thus menaced took the case to the court of appeals, which has now overruled the decision of the lower court, possibly in accordance with a previous decision, that a married woman might sue any man for assault and battery except her husband, but that to give her the right to appeal to the courts against his brutality would be 'contrary to the policy of the law, and destructive of that conjugal union and tranquillity which it has always been the object of the law to guard and protect.'"

"Conjugal union and tranquillity" maintained by blows would, according to Dr. Dix, be better than divorce, but to the ordinary observer seems as unsatisfactory as the "peace" maintained in Russia by the bayonets and cannon of the Czar.

I have now endeavored to show to you how deeply incorporated in law and society is the doctrine of man's headship in the family and how frightful a source it is of unhappiness and consequently of divorce. Only a union of equals can be permanent, with any hope of stability, only such a union sanctioned and sanctified by love.

The divorce laws of this country were well discussed last Friday evening by the Rector of Trinity,

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who gave statistics in regard to them obtainable in various recent essays on the subject, which need not be recapitulated here. There is no legal question of to-day needing revision more than this of divorce. At present the legislation of the different States is diverse both as to the forms of marriage and the reasons for disunion. In some States, as in New York, mere cohabitation under the same name constitutes legal marriage; in others, various preliminaries, such as publishing banns, obtaining license, etc., are needed to make the tie legal. In South Carolina no divorce is granted for any cause whatsoever, and from this zero the grounds for dissolving the marriage tie range all the way from the one sole cause permitted in New York, to the light law of Indiana, where the courts could grant a divorce whenever they deemed it "reasonable and proper."

Of course with such a remarkable puzzle of legislation most curious domestic complications constantly arise, and a man who has been married, divorced, and remarried, will, in traveling from Maine to Florida find himself sometimes a bachelor, sometimes married to his first wife, sometimes married to his second wife, sometimes a divorced man, and sometimes a bigamist, according to the statutes of the State through which he is traveling.

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Such is the present chaotic condition of the divorce laws of a single nation! Let us be thankful that no woman has had anything to do with this absurd muddle!

In some states a judge is actually permitted to sit on his own case. And an instance is related in Missouri where a judge divorced himself from his wife because she had had "the mad dumps silently for three days." *

In New Mexico the Legislature has the power of divorce, and a bill was once passed in that Territory divorcing the Governor from his wife. He affixed his signature to it in the morning and married another woman in the evening.

Against the present conflict of laws and contradictions of usage Dr. Dix uttered a protest, and plaintively stated that he had endeavored to obtain some changes from the Legislature, but the subject had received no attention whatsoever! If there had been women in that body, the dignified matrons of our State, the rector of Trinity would probably not have appealed in vain in behalf of any measures in the interest of humanity.

But men seem to think themselves quite capable

* A compendium and comparative view of the State Laws of Marriage and Divorce. By Charles Noble.

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of discussing and settling this whole question of divorce without the aid of women. Ex-President Woolsey of Yale College, recently wrote an elaborate essay on the subject of divorce, advising that there should be a grand national council to frame a uniform code of laws for the whole country. A council of whom? Why, of men alone!

Positively one would think, to hear Dr. Dix and other learned professors discuss this subject, that women had no interest in the matter whatsoever, that men married men, and that women lived in some beautiful region where matrimonial troubles were unknown.

Undoubtedly there should be a grand national council to settle all questions of marriage and divorce, but the council should consist, not of men alone, but of women also. And the united wisdom of these learned men and virtuous matrons would produce a code which should, at least, have as its basis equal justice for both sexes.

We find pervading all society to-day the idea that men are competent to do everything, regulate everything, to manage everything. The haughty Southerner, thirty years ago, declared: "This is a white man's government." Four years of bloody war took out one of these words, but the haughty

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rector of Trinity reiterates the rest: "This is a man's government." Yes, men make all laws, and guide all public opinion, and this is not "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people," but "a government of men, for men, and by men."

The newspapers, faithful reflectors of the tastes and needs of the hour, are printed by men, and for men, and what do we find in them? Here, within the last week, have been printed long accounts of various prize fights. One of them took place in West Virginia, between two persons bearing the euphonious titles of "Sweitzer Bill," and "Butcher Mose," and after a hideous encounter, Sweitzer Bill is reported to be dying. So that, this amusement ended in murder.

The other "pugilistic event" occurred in this city, and was witnessed by men who paid $10 apiece to see the "mill;" more than they would pay to hear Dr. Dix. This encounter is related at much length, and with great fulness of details about "drawing the claret," "putting his optic in mourning," "dashing his dexter mauley on the ribs heavily, and knocking his man against the ropes." In which phrases, wounds and suffering, and bodily

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hurt are "artistically" described to the delight of many readers, who are certainly not women.

In the same paper there is an account of a dog-fight. Friends, I could not read this. I am very fond of these canine companions, and I could not bear the story of how these faithful creatures were torn and mangled, and cruelly injured for the pleasure of human beings who were much greater brutes than the dogs. Poor fellows! Cannot you, in fancy, see them, bleeding, suffering, exhausted; yet, turning their blood-stained eyes with affection towards their cruel masters, and with what strength they had left, licking the hands that had forced them to this contest?

Now, these are the "manly sports" which our journals record week after week, with full knowledge that they will be pleasing to their masculine readers. Must not such reports tend directly to increase brutality? Supposing the papers were read by women alone, do you think we should have such accounts as these?

Some one will, of course, here object that if edited for women alone, the papers would be very silly. True, their tone would probably be weakened at once. Therefore, what we ask is not that either men alone or women alone shall control

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anything. But that together they shall make a harmonious whole, each helping and improving the other.

One evening last summer I sat on a hill-top overlooking the ocean, which was all sparkling under the rays of the moon. And behold, there stepped up onto the height a youth who, reaching his hand down, assisted a maiden to spring up beside him. They stood there for a moment hand in hand, behind them the myriad splendor of the summer sea, and before them all the fair promise of the future. And I thought how pleasing a type they were of that coming time, when manhood and womanhood should stand together side by side. He did not say to her, "You must walk below me," he said to her, "Come up beside me." And so do we ask the manhood of to-day to hold his hand to womanhood, and bid her come up beside him.

When this shall be, when men and women shall be equal companions in life, then, indeed,

> "Comes the stalier Eden back to man;
> Then reigns the world's great bridals chaste and calm,
> Then springs the crowning race of human kind."

And in such a union there will be little danger of divorce.

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LECTURE IV.

WOMAN'S TRUE MISSION.

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LESSON FOR FOURTH LECTURE.

JUDGES.

CHAPTER IV.

AND the children of Israel again did evil in the sight of the LORD, when Ehud was dead.

2. And the LORD sold them into the hand of Jabin king of Canaan, that reigned in Hazor; the captain of whose host *was* Sisera, which dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles.

3. And the children of Israel cried unto the LORD: for he had nine hundred chariots of iron; and twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel.

4 ¶. And Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, she judged Israel at that time.

5. And she dwelt under the palm tree of Deborah between Ramah and Beth-el in mount Ephraim: and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment.

6. And she sent and called Barak the son of Abinoam out of Kedesh-naphtali, and said unto him, Hath not the LORD God of Israel commanded, *saying*, Go and draw toward mount Tabor, and take with thee ten thousand men of the children of Naphtali and of the children of Zebulun?

7. And I will draw unto thee to the river Kishon Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army, with his chariots and his multitude; and I will deliver him into thine hand.

8. And Barak said unto her, If thou wilt go with me, then I will go: but if thou wilt not go with me, *then* I will not go.

9. And she said, I will surely go with thee: notwithstanding the journey that thou takest shall not be for thine honour; for the LORD shall sell Sisera into the hand of a woman. And Deborah arose, and went with Barak to Kedesh.

10 ¶. And Barak called Zebulun and Naphtali to Kedesh; and he went up with ten thousand men at his feet: and Deborah went up with him.

12. And they shewed Sisera that Barak the son of Abinoam was gone up to mount Tabor.

13. And Sisera gathered together all his chariots, *even* nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him, from Harosheth of the Gentiles unto the river of Kishon.

14. And Deborah said unto Barak, Up; for this *is* the day in which the LORD hath delivered Sisera into thine hand; is not the LORD gone before thee? So Barak went down from mount Tabor, and ten thousand men after him.

15. And the LORD discomfited Sisera, and all *his* chariots, and all *his* host, with the edge of the sword before Barak; so that Sisera lighted down off *his* chariot, and fled away on his feet.

16. But Barak pursued after the chariots, and after the host, unto Harosheth of the Gentiles: and all the host of Sisera fell upon the edge of the sword; *and* there was not a man left.

23. So God subdued on that day Jabin the king of Canaan before the children of Israel.

24. And the hand of the children of Israel prospered, and prevailed against Jabin the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan.

CHAPTER V.

The song of Deborah and Barak.

THEN sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying,

2. Praise ye the LORD for the avenging of Israel, when the people willingly offered themselves.

3. Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes; I, *even* I, will sing unto the LORD; I will sing *praise* to the LORD God of Israel.

4. LORD, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water.

5. The mountains melted from before the LORD, *even* that Sinai from before the LORD God of Israel.

6. In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways.

7. *The inhabitants of* the villages ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel.

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LECTURE IV.

WOMAN'S TRUE MISSION.

In his last discourse the fashionable lecturer of Trinity Chapel almost disarmed criticism by the reverent acknowledgment he made of woman's superiority over man. Indeed, so eloquent was he in his admiration of these "pure, true, sweet souls," that we almost expected him to declare that it was their function to use their purity and loveliness for the benefit of the world and the improvement of men.

But no; after declaring that woman "Stands for the best that man can know, for the sweetest that he can enjoy, for the faith which is the life to his spirit, for the purity which is the shield of his soul;" * after saying all this he leaves off exactly where he began, by declaring her to be subordinate to man, and winds up his discourses by telling the ardent Christian women, burning to use their powers for good, to "Let the world alone; let things alone

* Lenten Lectures, 1883, p. 170.

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which do not concern you, and for which neither man nor God can hold you responsible." *

This last clause is true enough; women are not responsible for any of the disorders of the world, but we would like to have this acute churchman point out to us any fact of life, political or social, that does not equally concern women and men, and we think, with all his acuteness, it would puzzle him to discover it.

This is his trouble, however: that he cannot see the facts of to-day; all that he looks at is tinted to suit his fancy like the stained-glass windows of his church, and the light in his world is rose-colored, for certain things agreeable to his eyes, while other things less pleasing are shaded with deep purple, so as to be quite invisible; never a clear ray of to-day's sunlight shines under those dusky arches.

And so this reverend "Mrs. Partington," not seeing the world as it is, stands in his pulpit and endeavors to sweep back the tide of progress with his ecclesiastical broom. He is like the Pope that fulminated a bull against the comet, or the priests that cast the astronomer into prison, or rather like one of his clerical brethren of a few decades ago,

* Lenten Lectures, 1883, p. 175.

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the Rev. Dionysius Lardner. This reverend critic, like ours of to-day, did not believe in progress; he was especially opposed to the invention of steam, and wrote an elaborate article to prove that no vessels propelled by steam could ever live in the waves of the Atlantic, which made its appearance in a ponderous Quarterly on the very day on which the first steamer sailed into an English harbor after a safe voyage from America.

And so, while this worthy rector lectures and protests, women are moving on to a far wider mission than he believes is possible for them to take up.

To be sure, without directly saying so, he finds some excuse for holding them in subordination by reiterating a threadbare fallacy which is a favorite one with those who oppose the freedom of women. And this is the declaration that, while most women are better than men, when a woman is bad she is even worse than a very bad man.* This is not true. It seems, indeed, to be true, for when you meet a woman untidy, drunken, or profane, you are filled with horror, and she seems far lower than the man who is equally vicious. Yet this is not because she really is lower than the man, but simply because the

* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 171.

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sight of such a woman is so rare, and the distance between her and a good woman so great, that the shock of seeing her thus is far more than the spectacle of a man in a similar condition would produce.

If you doubt this, ask yourself if you would not be more shocked to go home and find your mother smoking than to discover your father doing precisely the same thing. Or, if you would not be more horrified to see your sister drinking at a bar than to see your brother doing so; or, again, if a profane word from a lady you had always respected would not disgust you, while a similar word from a gentleman you would neither notice nor even remember.*

The standard which woman has built up by her virtue is so high, that any deviation from it seems a thousandfold worse than man's constant departure from the very low standard to which he has loosely bound himself—as to see a rose in the dust is so much more pitiful than to behold a pebble there.

It should always be remembered with regard to women that, no matter how degraded they may be,

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* Absolutely, as well as relatively, women are better than men. During one year there were in this country 44,030 male criminals and 3,682 female criminals—a proportion of 1 woman to 12 men.

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they are never brutal. In this they are always a shade better than a man correspondingly low. Lost they may be and foul, but still some trace of womanliness remains that makes them less hardened than one of the other sex, and those having female criminals in charge say that there is never one who will not brighten or soften at the sight of a handful of fresh flowers or the look of a baby's face.

In order to sustain his proposition, Dr. Dix cites several well-known historical characters as representing "the opposite poles of womanhood." Yet, even in the cases of these women, whose names stand out for superlative wickedness, it should be borne in mind that they are remembered because female cruelty is so rare, and that, bad as these women were, they were not so bad as the men beside them. Herodias, who caused the death of one man, was not so cruel as Herod, who ordered the slaughter of hundreds of children; Margaret of Valois was less licentious than her brother, Henry III. The evil deeds of Frédégonde were remarkable in a woman, but the every-day acts of the men of that period and the Demoiselle Théroigne, was not so bloodthirsty as Danton or as Simon.

With regard to the instances of female virtue mentioned by the scholarly Doctor as showing how

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lovely women can be, he does not make a very obvious reflection. St. Elizabeth of Hungary was so superior in every respect to her rude husband, Louis, Landgrave of Thuringia, that a woman would naturally reflect how much better it would have been for the nation if she had governed in his stead. Instead of trying by her benevolence to alleviate the woes which his mismanagement and misrule brought about, if she could have held the sceptre of power, she might, like Deborah, have given the land rest.

But, no! good as he admits these and other women to be, Dr. Dix still has nothing to offer to them as active employment for their eager hands. "You can help and cheer us best, perhaps, just now, by your silent prayers." * So from the heights of his pulpit he says to the earnest women who are looking to him as their guide to usefulness.

We have nothing to say against prayer, which is so sovereign a balm to many a soul, but we would remind the learned gentleman of certain grand old words—

"*Laborare est orare*—To work is to pray;" and of other tender and true words:

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* Lenten Lectures for 1883, p. 175.

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"He prayeth best who loveth best
All things, both great and small."

And now let us turn to the story of Deborah, with which the evening was opened, and see if here is not described a woman who had a grand mission well accomplished, and who believed both in work and in prayer. What a wonderful history this is of how when Israel was in despair and slavery the nation was rescued by a woman!

For twenty years the Israelites had groaned under the oppressions of the king of the Canaanites, and been forced to worship his gods. His great general, Sisera, by the magic of his name, rallied mighty armies to his standard, and his deeds of valor inspired such terrors that no one thought of opposing him till Deborah arose "a mother in Israel."

This woman, whose wisdom inspired so much respect among her people that they came to her for judgment, left her home to lead them to victory and freedom. She was a wife—the wife of Lapidoth—yet it is nowhere asserted that she asked her husband's permission to become a leader when her leadership was needed. If this good book teaches the subjection of women, why is it not recorded that she humbly asked his leave to go before the public? Why is there no reproof of her conduct?

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Why is it not stated that she should have been simply Mrs. Lapidoth, and not have had her name bandied about and spoken publicly "like a man's?"

Not a word of all this appears, however, and, as Mr. Lapidoth was the keeper of the king's wardrobe, a sort of gentleman of the bed-chamber, it would seem as if the superiority lay decidedly with the wife.

She was the recognized judge of Israel, divinely called to take the leadership of her people in their terrible emergency. Unused to war, and representing the inspirational rather than the militant side of humanity, although she could not go to battle herself, she could inspire those who could, and she summoned Barak, the Jewish captain, to come to her for his orders.

What a picture is this, of the great female judge and commander! Across the centuries we seem to see her noble form, standing beneath the palm tree, the bright sun of the orient casting its brilliant rays on the commanding figure and the eager people who come to her for counsel. We see the Israelitish general bowing reverently before her, and listening to the words of wisdom which were to guide a nation to victory, and which fell from a woman's lips.

Deborah commanded Barak to take with him ten

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thousand men, and go forth to battle with Sisera. And what did the great general say—that woman's place was home? that women had no business in war? that women could not fight and therefore ought not to vote? No, Barak, having never heard of Dr. Dix, replied to this woman that he would go forth to battle if she would give him the weight of her presence and the benefit of her guidance.

"If thou wilt go with me, then I will go; but if thou will not go with me, then I will not go." These were Barak's emphatic words.

It was, then, Deborah who planned the campaign and ordered the expedition. "She arose, and went with Barak to Kedesh;" and inspired by her presence the warriors of Zebulun and Naphtali came out to battle ten thousand strong.

And Sisera gathered together the men of his army, which mustered in a vast host with nine hundred chariots of iron, and with horsemen and mighty men of valor, all eager for the fray. Deborah ascended mount Tabor that she might from that height view the battle-ground, and when Sisera advanced to the attack she roused her general to action, saying, "Up; for this day hath the Lord delivered Sisera into thine hand!"

And it was even so; the campaign which a

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woman planned was successful; the battle which a woman commanded was a victory. The story ends with an account of a nation redeemed and delivered; and the statement that under the beneficent rule of this female judge, "the land had rest for forty years."

Taking this story, then, for our text, let us consider what may woman's true mission be: First we will speak of her proper place in the home; and here we find ourselves for once in accord with Dr. Dix; he says:

"Whatever it be, in thought, word, or deed that works among us now to break up the home, to make the home mean and contemptible,"* "this is working against the best interests, the hope, the happiness of the human race." This we emphatically believe. But we hold that it is true equally of men and of women, we believe that "a woman's place is home," and so is a man's! That a man has no more right to go outside of his home to find his pleasures than a woman has to do precisely the same thing.

Yet it is very curious, considering how much is written and talked about the home as woman's place, to reflect that in most of the States of the Union a woman has no home. A man will talk

* Lenten Lectures, 1883, p. 29.

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about "my house;" men said sometimes in the excitement about school suffrage for women: "If my wife votes she shall not return to my house!" as if the home were his alone, and unless specially deeded to the wife, it is so: the homestead is the husband's, while the law says that after a man's death "his widow may remain forty days in her husband's residence." So that, practically, a large majority of women have no homes.

There are some of the States of the West where the homestead by law belongs to the wife, and thus things are arranged in accordance with the views of Dr. Dix? but these are but exceptions to the general rule, which gives no legal right to the home to women, who form the pauper sex and rarely have any money.

We would have, then, the wife and husband, joint owners of the common home, and joint guardians of the children, and to place the union on its fitting foundation to begin with, we would forever take out of the marriage service that word "obey," which, doubtless, the rector of Trinity pronounces with much unction, but which is an anachronism and a disgrace since slavery was abolished. The idea of the lovely bride standing beside the husband, who has been her devoted admirer, and swearing to

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obey him, a frail human being no better, very likely not as good, as herself! Why, the usage belongs with the rude ages, when William the Conqueror wooed his wife by knocking her off from her horse!

Let the husband and wife, then, stand as equals in the home, each owing mutual and similar obligations of fidelity and devotion to each other and to their children. No longer with the perpetual preaching of the doctrine that it is woman's "duty to make home attractive to her husband," but with the understanding, also, that it is man's duty to make himself attractive to his wife, and that in the creation and rearing of a family, the father's function is as important as the mother's.

Women have, however, so truly fulfilled every duty to home in the past, that there is no need of preaching on this part of their mission. Let us see, then, if they have not also a wider mission, because they love their homes, and wish to make happier and better that world in which their homes are set, and by which they must be influenced. And we hold that in every department of government woman has her appropriate place, which is not, and never can be, filled by men, but, in just so much as she is excluded from it, stands vacant to-day.

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The State is but the larger family, and the national housekeeping is all out of order for want of that virtue, love of order, and, above all, conscientiousness, which woman especially represents.

You all of you know what sort of a place a house is without any women in it, or left in the charge of men, perhaps some of you have had experience of such places; or perhaps you have seen and know what happens in the absence of the mother of the family. The father, good, kind man, has bidden her go away with an easy mind; he will look after every thing, and all will be as well-ordered as when she is at home; and confiding in the worthy man's promises, the wife has gone away. You can fancy what condition of affairs she finds on her return. Dust and disorder everywhere, and neglect of many things which her watchful eyes would have seen; we do not blame the husband for this; he could not be expected to take care of the home as his wife did: he was "out of his sphere" in attempting it.

Just what happens, then, in the home during the absence of the mother, is taking place to-day in the nation for the want of woman's influence. The national housekeeping is all in disorder for need of woman's labors in her rightful province as organizer and care-taker. Let us consider some of the de-

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partments in which woman's love of order and neatness are particularly desirable. Take, for instance, the streets of our cities. Here is a department of public work eminently needing woman's supervision.

Here in our own city of New York, is it too much to assert that the streets will never be properly cleaned nor the city kept in good sanitary condition until we have women in the police and health departments? For just look how the nominal work of street-cleaning is conducted by men to-day. You have all seen the process. First, laborers are sent out to sweep the dirt into heaps, where, after a slovenly performance of the job, the refuse is left in piles for many hours, often over night, so that the wind shall have an opportunity to blow a large portion of it over the streets again. When finally the carts do come to take the heaps away, they are invariably without covers, so that as they drive about still more dust is blown off onto the passers-by. What is left of the rubbish is taken down-town, put on scows, which are towed down the bay, and dumped so that a large portion of their contents is carried back by the waves onto the shores of Coney Island. This is man's idea of cleaning the streets. However, they should not be blamed for it. They cannot be

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expected to do any better, it is not their "mission" to attend to this work. What intelligent woman would ever think of putting her husband and sons in charge of the house-cleaning?

It seems not unreasonable to claim that women would look after this matter better than men. Indeed we have facts in proof of this claim. In Albany some years ago a lady did attend to the cleaning of some of the streets. Her husband had the contract for this work in a certain district, but died before the task was begun, and his widow fulfilled the contract. It was said by all who resided in that part of the city that the cleaning was never so well or so thoroughly done before; indeed, so entirely successful was this lady's superintending of the work, that when she again applied the following year for the contract, a petition in her behalf was signed by all the principal residents in the district, but of course she failed to secure the "job," as she had no political power.

We may, then, consider it proved that women have a mission in this department of public works; no one will dispute that plenty of women need the money that could thus be earned, and are possessed of the intelligence and capacity to have the labor well performed. That women would accomplish it

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more economically than men no one can doubt, they are the trained economists of the world, and certainly if we had city mothers as well as city fathers, they would not allow the waste that now goes on, but would see that the refuse of the city, so valuable for fertilization, was used so as to pay for the labor of removing it.

The same necessity for woman's supervision appears throughout the country, the roads everywhere need the attention of women. If we had women as road mistresses we should at once find an improvement in the condition of our highways. At present you find dangerous places where teams cannot pass safely, narrow places above hill-sides, bridges with broken planks or without side railings: all these things under man's management. There are a few model villages in the country which are entirely controlled by women, volunteer associations of ladies, who have made the places in their charge models of neatness, health, and good order, thus proving woman's capacity for just this work.

Nor can it be reasonably objected that women cannot attend to these duties because of their home cares: in every community there are to be found plenty of women of mature age, who have no families to occupy their time. Single women, widows,

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or women whose children are all grown and gone, and who, under the present arrangement of giving men everything and women nothing, are condemned to lives of uselessness in the fulness of their ripe powers. It might be reasonably claimed that women are the trained governors of the world, as she who for twenty years has superintended a well-ordered family of children and servants ought to be well qualified to govern in a larger community.

There is another most important department of the national housekeeping in which men have shown themselves not merely negligent but actually destructive: in the wanton levelling of our forests, which year after year is laying bare the land to the sun's rays, drying up the soil, decreasing the rain-fall, and rendering us liable to terrible floods in the spring and parching droughts during the summer.

In a recent elaborate work * on the preservation of forests it was stated that to preserve the rain-fall there must be fifteen acres out of every one hundred in woodland. It has been surmised that the desert of Sahara was once a fertile region, as there can be now traced through its desolate sands what seem to be the courses of ancient rivers, indicating

* Forest Preservation. Prof. Gye.

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that at one time this must have been a well-watered country, and that then, probably, this desert "blossomed like a rose." But in the desire to cultivate the fields the trees were cut down, the streams dried up, and where was once a happy population there is now only a desolate plain of shifting sand.

This sand has already encroached upon Europe: where in the time of Pliny vines covered the hills in southern Italy and Spain is at present an arid region over which yearly the African sirocco blows more fiercely.

Unwarned by these facts, reckless of the future in the desire for rapid wealth, the men of this country have hewn away the forests that once clothed our land with beauty. Of course timber is needed for building purposes and firewood, but this could be obtained every year by judicious thinning of our woods, whereas now, man in his greed, lays the axe not only on the lofty pine and stalwart oak, but also on the graceful birch and almost useless cottonwood.

As a result we have yearly long periods of drought, and as the forests around the sources of our rivers disappear, mad floods occur, like those which two years ago submerged all southern Loui-

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siana, and this spring have carried death and desolation down the lovely valley of the Ohio.

Women, who are the natural housekeepers of the world, will, if allowed their proper influence on these economic questions, be valuable conservators of public property. Hat-a-su, the great Queen of Egypt, brought to perfection the extensive system of irrigation which redeemed her land from the desert; and Semiramis, the Empress of Assyria, first constructed roads through her vast empire, while Catherine the Great of Russia did more for the internal improvement of her empire than any sovereign of her realm.

Let us consider now another department of the national home in which women have a far wider mission to fulfill than has ever yet been accorded to them, and that is the department of education. There was a time when all instruction in the higher branches and much even of that in the lower, was given by men. Formerly the pedagogue was a familiar figure in every community, to-day he has everywhere given place to the school-mistress. But although nine tenths of the teachers in our cities, and seven eighths of those in the country, are women, yet their sex is not represented in the board of education in New York and most of our large cities.

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That women are eminently qualified for these higher positions their admirable influence wherever so employed abundantly proves. In England all the lady candidates for trusteeships have been again and again triumphantly elected, and by their efforts schools for girls have been greatly improved and the whole system of education modified. In Boston Miss Peabody has made an excellent school officer, and in our own State among over one hundred women trustees exceptional capacity has been shown for their duties. While men trustees have been some of them disgracefully ignorant, at least one of them insane, and a great many of them drunkards, no such cases can be found among the women, who in every instance, where employed, have brought with them order, economy, and good government.

Yet, after all, although a step has been taken in the right direction, still women have not their appropriate influence in this important sphere of usefulness. The consequence is that the administration of our schools to-day is masculine in every respect. What is the result? That the gentleness, the tenderness, and the morality of women have little or no effect on the discipline of the public schools. Rigid order is enforced by a rule of harsh-

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ness; little creatures are overcrowded in class-rooms and are crammed with study. More lessons are demanded in each week than there are hours to give them in, and the girl-teacher, overworked and under-paid, dares not remonstrate lest she lose her place, to have it quickly filled from the horde of her sex forced by denial of employment in other directions to scramble for a vacancy in the school-teachers' ranks.

Another most important reflection. Dogmatic theology has been very properly excluded from our schools, where we have children of all creeds, but no ethical instruction has taken its place, and so a child may be ten years in a public school and hear never a word of his duty to others, of love, of charity, of honor, of kindness, of the great virtues which make good citizens. Had we educated women in our boards of education—mothers, or at least, with the mother instinct—we should have a broader, better, and greater mode of instruction than men alone can ever devise.

There is another wide field of influence for women in the department of charities and corrections. The very name of this department, indeed, suggests the thought that energetic mothers would be well placed in it. Yet obviously proper as it is

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that we should have women in charge of women wherever they are, every proposition to give them places where they might be of use to the community, and be paid for their work, has been met with the most violent opposition.

Last winter, in this State, two measures looking in this direction were defeated by the withholding of the Governor's signature. The first was a proposition to place women in the boards of trustees in our State charitable institutions, the other a bill to provide for the appointment of public matrons to look after female prisoners in the station-houses of our large cities. We will first consider the need of women in these places and next the reasons for denying these positions to them.

To our descendants, when there shall no longer be any discrimination against an individual on account of sex, it will seem a self-evident proposition that women should have a voice in the care of the unfortunate or criminal of their own sex. And yet no woman has a position in control of any charitable or reformatory institution in the State of New York, although in other States they have demonstrated their capacity by successfully taking charge of the woman's prison near Boston, the reformatory in Indiana, and the State prison in Kentucky. In each

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of those institutions the ladies in charge have shown marked capacity in conducting the prisons economically and with great comfort to those under their charge.

Despite these proofs of the qualification for their work, in this State of New York, where Dr. Dix advises women "to do nothing," women are carefully excluded from every position of influence in these departments. It is true that there are two ladies holding offices (non-salaried) on the State Board of Charities, but thus far their efforts, unsupported by any power as they are, has done little in many directions where they have wished to produce reform.*

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*From the able pamphlet on "Our Jails, Penitentiaries, and Poorhouses," by one of these ladies, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, I take a few facts, proving the need of such reform:

"In the last report of the 'New York Prison Association' to the Legislature, the condition of the county jails is presented in two tables. From the first of these tables it appears that in forty-five of the sixty-four county jails, the convicted and unconvicted prisoners are not kept separate—that in thirty-six of them the men and women are imperfectly separated—that in fifty the children are not kept apart from the adults, and that in only five is there any attempt made to employ the prisoners."

The report continues, by quoting from "A Plea by Bishop Huntington in Behalf of Female Prisoners," in which he dwells forcibly on the evils which result from the fact that "hitherto men and women have been put into this prison together

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In lifting up those of their own sex who have fallen, in bringing a purer condition into the administration of our public prisons, in preventing the horrors of which we annually hear, is there not a fitting mission for Christian women?

With regard to the other reform of having women

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within sound of each other's voices, exposed to one another's jeering and hooting and corruption, and often to the sight of one another's faces and gestures." After further details of the demoralization naturally resulting from this association and the utter disregard of decency in the prison arrangements, the report continues:

"Into nineteen of the jails such as we have described, and two of the penitentiaries, during the year 1880, two hundred and eighty-five women, between the ages of fifteen and thirty years, were sent by the laws of the State of New York. Two hundred and twenty-five were over twenty years old, the remaining sixty not yet twenty. The imperfect records which are kept in the jails, yet show that ninety-one of these women and girls have been three hundred and forty-two times committed, some of the girls of sixteen having already served three and four sentences. The offenses were disorderly conduct, intoxication, petit larceny, prostitution, keeping disorderly houses, etc.

"In other countries and in other States, it has been possible to rescue such women by removing them from the bad influences and the temptations which surround them, and subjecting them to the discipline and kindly care of their own sex. In our own State, where personal pity has led to the founding of private refuges, and reformatories, many of these unhappy women are reclaimed, but whenever it is their cruel fate to fall under the power of the law, whenever, that is, the great State of New York has them in her grasp, then they are thrust into

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in the police-stations of our cities, it is one which has always enlisted my most ardent sympathies and which, as many of you know, I have earnestly advocated, thus far absolutely without result, though the briefest consideration of the subject shows the reasonableness of the measure.

When it was first suggested that there should be at each police-station a decent woman to care for female prisoners and lodgers, the proposition seemed so reasonable, so entirely in accordance with the dictates of morality and propriety, that the public and the press warmly welcomed the reform as most needful. Had it rested with the people of New York to make the appointments, they would at once

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the vilest companionship and are taught a deeper infamy than they could otherwise have learned.

"During the same year (1880) that these two hundred and eighty hapless women were cast into the jails and penitentiaries, one hundred and eleven young women of the same class were committed to, or themselves sought refuge in the county poorhouses. These were generally younger than the other mournful band, only twenty-six between twenty-five and thirty years, and all the rest younger, two only fifteen years old. Sixty-three of these girls and women went to the poorhouse to bring forth illegitimate children, twenty-one had illegitimate children with them already, twenty-seven were prostitutes, and ten were especially described as vagrant and intemperate, although in all probability many more could have been classed under this head."

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have been made. The opposition came wholly and solidly from the Police Department.

We who were interested in the question made the first application, as was proper, to this body, but were refused a hearing there, and were thus driven to the Legislature, where the measure met with a hearty support. A bill for the appointment of police matrons in all the large cities of the State, was passed promptly by the Senate, and later by the Assembly, the vote in the latter body being 97 to 6, but the Governor refused to sign the bill and it failed to become a law.

The need of some womanly supervision in our station-houses becomes evident after a brief examination of the question. An average of five to forty women spend every night in the cheerless cells and rooms of the police-stations, the number varying according to the locality and the season. Some of these women are very low, very degraded; but who shall say that their womanhood is so completely destroyed that they cannot be still further brutalized? while others of these women, and in many instances the larger number, are simply poor, unfortunate beings who have gone down in the hard struggle of life, and who are moneyless, friendless, and, saddest of all words to a woman's heart, home-

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less. These have no lodging in the cold nights of winter but such wretched shelter as these stations can give.

Another class of female inmates are those who are for the first time accused of disorder and crime, some of whom are always innocent sufferers, while it may happen to any lady, in case of accident or sudden illness, to be conveyed to a police-station for temporary shelter.

All these women are, under our present system, entirely in the hands of men. Sick or sad, innocent or guilty, raving with drunkenness, or weeping with desperation, there is no woman's hand to arrange their disordered dress, no woman's heart to dictate a word of comfort or hope; and most shameful of all, in case a woman is accused of theft, the needful search of her person is made by a policeman. Are such things creditable to our humanity or to our civilization?

In London every police-station has attached to it a matron, whose duties are to keep the cells tidy, to look after female prisoners, and to search women accused of theft. This is all we ask for here.

That such women are needed in our city the most casual reader of our papers must know. Here, for instance, within the week, is the account of the ar-

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rest of a woman for murder, and in describing her first examination the paper says: "Surrounded by twenty men in the station-house she told her story." No woman was present to guard this young creature, to help her to a better life if she were really guilty. Here is another account of a woman found on the street insensible, taken to a station-house, and put into a cell over night. Only in the morning was it discovered that she was not drunk, but that her face was covered with bruises, and that she was dreadfully wounded. She was taken to a hospital, but it was too late; she died without recovering consciousness. Had there been a police matron there would not she have discovered what the woman's condition really was?

Such stories and darker and sadder ones might be related to you. Twelve years ago, when the first appeal was made in behalf of this reform, the then Superintendent of Police, Capt. Jordan, himself told me that he had known a case where a woman was brought in on a charge of drunkenness and put into a cell, and that in the morning she lay there dead with a dead baby beside her.*

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* At Wellsville, N. Y., I was told that a woman had been found staggering on the street and taken to the station, some

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There is no need to darken this picture further; there is surely a mission for women here. In Brooklyn, where there is a solitary police matron, the Police Department reported favorably on the work as follows:

"One hundred and sixty women and young girls have been committed to her charge during the past month. The matron visits the families of women in prison, supplies food and clothing to the needy, finds homes for those who would have to return to the streets, gives advice and encouragement, and makes the unfortunate committed to her care understand that they are not beyond the pale of human sympathy. The Police Justices approve of the work."

You will naturally ask why do the police justices of Brooklyn approve and the police justices of New York disapprove of the same services? To this the answer is easy. The matron in Brooklyn is not paid by the city. Her salary is met by the temperance ladies of that place, and this is the reason why there is only one such official, who, with all her energy, is of course quite unable to meet all the requirements

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violence being used, as she resisted arrest. Within a few hours a baby was born to her, and on its body were the bruises made by the policeman's club.

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of that great city. The ground of opposition to the appointments of these women in New York was that the payment of their salaries would call for such a large sum of money. Now the amount asked for was only $500 a year salary—it was not expected that the matrons would be idle, fine ladies, but respectable, tidy women, over thirty years of age, able-bodied, and of good moral character, who would see that the cells were kept clean and attend to what might be properly called the woman's department, as well as look after the female prisoners and lodgers. To secure the services of a proper person a respectable sum must be paid, and while the lowest salary given to a policeman is $800 a year, only $500 was asked for a matron.

There are in New York City thirty-two station-houses: two women at each station would of course require $32,000 a year to be paid. The amount annually paid to policemen here is $2,500,000, and this year there was a call for $750,000 additional, and yet the small sum of $32,000 for the protection of women was refused. Considering that as there are more women than men in New York, they pay more than half the indirect taxes of the city, besides a large amount of the direct taxes on real and personal estate, it would seem that common justice would

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have approved the expenditure of this small sum at their request. But there are twenty-five hundred voters in the Police Department, and no voters at all among the women of the city. Mr. Cornell expected to be renominated for Governor and hoped to be re-elected, and the will of those men was of more weight than the wishes of women.

This winter similar causes have again operated to defeat the measure. It was passed by a large majority through the Assembly, but killed in committee in the Senate by strong remonstrances from the Police Department.

Let us now consider another branch of public duty in which women have a most appropriate mission. This is the performance of their military service in time of war. And here, as in all other departments of the public home, there is a woman's appropriate duty, as there is a man's.

It is true women cannot serve the nation by shouldering a musket and carrying a knapsack, on Decoration Day—which is about all the military duty that most of our warriors are now called upon to perform. But in every period of actual war how faithfully have women responded to the call of the nation for the services of her children! Through all our history there is a grand record of what women

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have done in times of war. In that terrible struggle of twenty years ago that many of us can remember, when the electric messages flashed over the land to summon aid to save the life of the Republic, how nobly did the women of the country respond!

In every town and village, in every home in the land, willing fingers toiled early and late for the soldiers. Women met together to organize their labors, and in sanitary fairs raised $13,000,000, but this was a mere nothing compared to the enormous amount of money's worth that was never computed, and that was sent with constant devotion from the homes of the nation to the army. Soldiers who went through those campaigns have said that the comforts supplied by the women saved thousands of lives. Nor was it only a woman here and there who labored for the nation, as it was here and there a man who fought for it, but every woman performed some part of her military duty, from the old grandmother who knit stockings in the chimney-corners to the little girl who staid at home Saturday afternoon to pick lint.

And there were other women who, leaving their homes and their firesides, went out to perform their military duty in the hospital service of the nation,

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enduring hardship and danger, sometimes wounds and death; many of these faithful ones laying down their lives in the service of the nation as truly as any soldier who lies buried with the flag of his country wrapped about him.

Even in those terrible hours after a battle, when the soul grows sick that must look on the horrors that man's cruelty has wrought, even in such scenes there were women with their gentle influences. On fields which the dreadful havoc of war had converted into charnel-houses, where the dew that drenched the springing grass was the dew of blood, and the air was heavy with the low moans or long-drawn groans of the wounded who were dying in agony, women came to bring comfort and hope to alleviate, so far as they might, the sufferings for which men were responsible.

Many of you will remember the names of some of these heroic workers. There was Mother Bickerdyck, who, in her prime, gave her services for four years to the army in the West, who went out into battle-fields, where her feet were dabbled in blood, to succor the wounded. And what is her reward to-day? Mother Bickerdyck is an old woman now, and she is earning her living at the wash-tub! No pension for her! $100,000,000 to be paid in

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pensions to men, and not one dollar for the women who did their military duty so faithfully!

Among the women who, in this period of the nation's distress served the Republic in public labors, should be held in grateful remembrance, Miss Dorothea Dix, the aunt of this same prelate who tells women they must "do nothing," and keep out of the world. This lady held a commission as major in the volunteers. She spent most of those four years in Washington, organizing hospital and sanitary service, and her labors, together with those of Miss Clara Barton and other devoted women, ought not to be forgotten.

Yet who remembers them to-day? You look among the honored names of the nation and you may search in vain for a woman's. Dorothea Dix, and Clara Barton, and Mother Bickerdyke are unrecorded, and after that cruel struggle was over the loyal women of the North received precisely the same portion that was meted out to unpardoned rebels—disfranchisement.

Is it any wonder that it seems to many of us unjust to exclude from all active power precisely that portion of humanity which most needs the protection which the ballot alone can give? We have seen, in tracing out each of these great developments

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of public usefulness which women have already filled or should fill, that the denial to them of their proper influence can be traced directly to their want of political power.

The Rector of Trinity talked much on Friday evening of the dangerous "drift of the age," but utterly failed to comprehend that the force of the current that is setting with resistless power towards anarchy can be checked only by the influence of woman released at last from centuries of bondage, and that thus alone can the progress of disorder be arrested. Men have done their part in the world well; they excel in strength, and in enterprise, and with their mighty powers they have conquered the wilderness and built up the civilization of the world. They have also constructed governments, but these governments rest on force alone; the gentle, the tender, the motherly power is entirely excluded from all voice, and yet to-day, more than ever before, the attempt to control by force alone is proved to be a failure.

There was a time when a few bayonets could hold a nation in chains. That day has passed away forever, and in the complex development of modern society the old clumsy methods, man's methods, of enforcing order, are proved to be absolutely inade-

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quate to grapple with the dangers of political and social disorder. Of what use are man-devised measures of coercion and repression? In England the arrest of the Phœnix Park murderers is followed by the destruction of the government offices, and the answer to the death penalty is dynamite.

In this country we hang our convicts—with what result? That the burglar who is hung on Friday is followed to his grave on Sunday * by a larger crowd than would honor a great philosopher, and within two days four of his friends are arrested for burglary. Evidently there is something radically wrong in a social system where such things exist. A rule of force alone only awakens still more force in retaliation, and yet Dr. Dix preaches silence and inaction to that half of humanity which represents gentleness, order, purity, and peace.

For the present condition of things women can in no wise be held to blame. We look on what goes on about us and are absolutely helpless to change anything. To prate of indirect influence is absurd. The women of this nation are in it just as a party of Americans would be in Russia were they passing the winter there. They would not be respon-

* Funeral of Mike McGloin, on Sunday, March 11.

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sible for the evils they saw about them; they would have no power to change anything. With no right of suffrage and no official positions, what responsibility can attach to that class who thus live as strangers in their own land, and are in truth women without a country?

What we ask, what we believe alone can redeem the world is the giving of direct power to women, so that they can come among men, not to sit subordinate as women so often do now, when they are associated in public work with men, but with authority as the mother comes among her boys, or as Deborah came among the people of Israel.

Throughout our land there are thousands of women who see and feel that their highest mission is to minister to humanity at large, who are longing to be able to use their powers for the cause of morality and of all that is best in Christianity, with freer hands than they have to-day.

In closing, let me tell you of one woman who felt these things deeply. She had been all her life an active laborer for others in Temperance and other reforms. A devoted wife and mother, she had seen her children and her grandchildren grow up around her, and the time came when she had much leisure from family cares. In her work for

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the world, to which she devoted her energies, she found her efforts so hampered by the want of direct power, her cherished plans so often defeated, that when at last she heard that the women of the State had the right of school suffrage, though it was but the small fraction of the freedom that should be theirs, she earnestly desired to cast a vote. But the seasons had grown many in her life, she was ninety-three years old, feeble, and worn with long labor, and feared she had not strength for the effort.

A wealthy friend who heard the aged lady's desire, called for her in her carriage and drove her to the polling-place. It has been sometimes said that if women went to vote they would be insulted. Does any man think so poorly of his sex as to suppose that this venerable woman, dowered with her long life of virtue, was insulted as she approached the polls?

No! Every man there felt to her as a son to his mother. There were tender hands outstretched to assist her from the carriage, and bear her reverently to the place where the ballot-box stood. With trembling fingers she dropped the tiny bit of paper into that urn which has been called "the palladium of American liberty," and, realizing how much this act, trifling in itself, signified of hope for the future for

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